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Deliberative democratic practices in tourism planning: Towards a model of participatory community tourism planning

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May 2008

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DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRATIC PRACTICES IN TOURISM PLANNING:
TOWARDS A MODEL OF PARTICIPATORY COMMUNITY
TOURISM PLANNING

An Abstract of a Dissertation

Submitted

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Education

Approved:

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May 2008

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to compare and contrast the current practices of citizen involvement in community tourism planning with the framework of deliberative democracy. The goal of this study was to expand the literature on tourism planning which currently lacks a working framework for participatory community tourism planning. Drawing from political philosophy, democratic theory, and planning literature, this study utilized the framework of deliberative democracy and planning as communicative action, in order to contribute to the development of a model of participatory community tourism planning.

The current practices of citizen involvement in community tourism planning were examined in three North American communities – Dubuque (Iowa), Hood River (Oregon), and Ucluelet (British Columbia). Comparing and contrasting community planning processes in these communities not only illustrated contextual nature and complexities of the tourism planning practices, but also revealed a number of factors that should be considered by practicing planners in their efforts to design proactive participatory processes that will engage communities to the maximum extent possible.

While the theoretical framework of Rowe, Marsh and Frewer (2001), Rowe, Marsh, Reynolds and Frewer (2001), and Marsh, Rowe and Frewer (2001) helped better understand the design of each of the planning processes, it did not account for the contextual differences of these processes. Contextual factors influencing community based planning processes included political economy, administrative and policy frameworks, stage of economic development, place on a Tourism Area Life Cycle, power

dynamics, community values, worldviews and lifestyles, community and cultural fabric, and social capital, among others. Strength of influence, role and significance of each of these contextual factors varied from one community to another.

While different in their contexts and features of participatory planning processes, all communities in the study shared similar concerns in regard to the development of their tourism product. Among them were a need to have a broad and shared community vision enforced by community leadership, supported by cooperation, collaboration, and partnerships, and expressed through shared decision making; focus on communication, dialogue and information exchange, to ensure a participatory and inclusive planning process design that would incorporate a multitude of community voices and worldviews and further strengthen social capital, as well as scope and timing of tourism development, along with the need to consider tourism impacts on the economy, environment, social and cultural community fabric.

With regard to practical implications of the framework of deliberative democracy, this study showed that while deliberative democracy and planning as communicative action are both indeed noble ideals to strive to, their application in practice should revolve around designing and implementing processes that would shift the focus from outcomes to recognizing the role and importance of contextual and process factors ensuring meaningful citizen involvement in community based planning and decision making.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of the society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion (Thomas Jefferson, 1820).

The purpose of this study was to compare and contrast the current practices of citizen involvement in community tourism planning with the framework of deliberative democracy. The goal of this study was to expand the literature on tourism planning which currently lacks a working framework for participatory community tourism planning. Drawing from political philosophy, democratic theory, and planning literature, this study utilized the framework of deliberative democracy and planning as communicative action, in order to contribute to the development of a model of participatory community tourism planning.

For the purposes of this study, *deliberative democracy* was defined as a broad term encompassing democratic reforms eliciting broad public participation, and was distinguished from already existing participatory models by the breadth and quality of participation. It included an ongoing inclusive and dialogic participatory process of learning and shared decision making based on what Yankelovich (1991) called “public judgment” (Weeks, 2000). *Planning as communicative action* was incorporated in this study from theories of communicative rationality (Habermas, 1984, 1987) and discursive democracy (Dryzek, 1990), as well as their application to planning by Forester (1989), Sager (1994) and Innes (1995), among others.

Background

This study addressed issues of citizen participation, new democratic forms of planning, community tourism planning, and sustainable development. Its goal was to contribute to the development of a model of participatory community tourism planning to guide planning agencies and practicing planners in their efforts to engage citizens in a meaningful process of creating a shared future – what Forester (1999b) defines as “what ought to be.” This dissertation addressed existing disconnect between citizens and planners (Plein, Green & Williams, 1998), as well as the lack of “fit” between planning theories and realities of planning practice (Lauria & Wagner, 2006). It brought pathologies and inadequacies of existing planning practices to light for a detailed examination of how these practices hindered achievement of the primary obligation of planners – to serve the public interest (American Planning Association, 2005). In addition, this dissertation was an answer to the call from planners to address issues of planning process design (see Forester, 1999a, 1999b), to advance research in planning theory (Lauria & Wagner, 2006), and to engage in research on deliberative and participatory governance (Collaborative Democracy Network, 2005).

More specifically, this dissertation examined the above mentioned issues in the context of tourism planning on a community level. Today, decline of traditional industries and agriculture has forced many urban and rural communities to turn to tourism as a field of opportunities on the way to economic growth and diversification (adapted from Hall & Mitchell, 2000; Hall, 2005). Tourism is now one of the target industries for many communities which are seeking the means for integrating this

function into their overall comprehensive plans (Blackstock, 2005; Murphy & Murphy, 2004). However, the rapid pace of tourism growth has often led to consequences that are not always planned or welcomed by destination residents. Until now, tourism development has remained predominantly entrepreneurial-driven, with local communities viewed by tourism developers either as a resource to be exploited, or as an obstacle to be overcome in order to implement development strategies (Fuller & Reid, 1998; Murphy, 1985; Reid, 2003). Examples abound of how haphazard tourism planning and management or lack thereof have brought detrimental impacts on environment, economies, and communities, caused local residents turning hostile toward tourists, and brought about destinations' decline. (Harrill, 2004; Marcouiller, 1997).

Tourism planning texts have addressed these and other problematic issues (Gartner, 1996; Gunn, 1979, 1988, 1994; Inskeep, 1991; Murphy, 1985; Murphy & Murphy, 2004; Pearce, 1981, 1989; Reid, 2003). Whereas older texts focused on resort and large scale tourism development, more recent publications have shifted focus to small scale, sustainable community tourism development and planning. One of the notable trends has centered on dissatisfaction with current tourism planning approaches, more specifically with traditional top-down planning models (Filner, 2001; Friedmann, 1987; Fuller & Reid, 1998; Krantz, 2003; Lukasik, 2002; Reed, 2000; Vajjhala, 2005). Existing technocratic planning strategies have been widely criticized for their over reliance on experts and traditional "Decide-Announce-Defend" planning approaches (Vajjhala, 2005). The failure of this ideology of "expertism" has greatly contributed to growing recognition of the need for input from a broad range of stakeholders (Fuller &

Reid, 1998; Harrill, 2004; Hibbard & Lurie, 2000; Jamal & Getz, 1999; Reed, 2000; Reid, 2003). As Friedmann (1987) put it, “there remains yet a fourth route [out of the present crisis in planning], which is to *re-center political power in civil society*” (p.13, original emphasis).

Normative planning theorists – among them Arnstein (1969), Kravitz (1970), Friedmann (1973, 1987), Godschalk and Mills (1966), Forester (1989, 1999a), Healey (1992), Innes (1995, 1996), and Hall (1992) – have long argued that planning should be participatory. Moreover, there have been organized and mandated efforts to involve the general public in planning and decision making. Today, many states mandate citizen participation in comprehensive planning, growth management, and environmental planning. Many governments have experimented with participatory planning models, but until now these efforts have been more of a feature of environmental planning, especially through the environmental impact assessments (Dowling, 1993). A brief overview of existing legislation mandating citizen participation reveals the following list (Torres, Gunn, Bernier & Leighninger, 2004):

- The Federal Advisory Committee Act (FACA) of 1972,
- Government Performance Results Act (GPRA) of 1993,
- The Administrative Procedures Act (APA) of 1947,
- The National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1969,
- The Administrative Disputes Resolution Act (ADRA) of 1996,
- The E-Government Act (EGOV) of 2002,

- Public participation guidelines for the Title 24 (Community Development Block Grant) of Department of Housing and Urban Development, and
- Civic Engagement and Public Involvement Order of the National Park Service.

The underlying premise of all these efforts has been to improve accountability and strengthen commitment of local governments to principles of democratic governance, including the rights of individuals to be informed, to be consulted, and to have the opportunity to express their views on governmental decisions (Brody, Godschalk & Burby, 2003). Studies examining current state planning mandates usually conclude that existing planning practices are no more than “window dressing” to ensure passing through the motions when the main decisions have already been made (Berke & French, 1994; Berke, Roenigk, Kaiser & Burby, 1996; Brody et al., 2003; Burby, 2003; Burby & Dalton, 1994). In tourism, as Mathieson and Wall (1982) pointed out, with the exception of a very few isolated examples, public participation in planning and decision making has been cursory at best. In addition, even though participatory planning exists, it remains unclear whether it is participatory in any meaningful way (Hibbard & Lurie, 2000; Weeks, 2000). Addressing this argument, Marcouiller (1997) and Harrill and Potts (2003) noted that citizen participation and examination of residents’ attitudes towards tourism development are the two most important aspects that need to be addressed in tourism planning and development literature today.

Participatory Planning

The World Bank Participation Sourcebook argues that participation serves various interests. For some it is a matter of principle, for others – a practical matter, and for still

others – an end in itself (The World Bank, 1996). The same publication defines citizen participation as “a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affect them” (The World Bank, 1996, p.xi). For the World Bank, participatory planning and decision making lays a pathway to economic growth, hence economic and political stability (Aycrigg, 1998). For the United Nations, it is about sustainable development and environmental protection (as emphasized in *Brundtland Report* [1987] and *Agenda 21* [1992]). For still others, it is about strengthening communities, building social capital and paving the road to sustainability.

Despite the great promise of participatory planning and decision making, in practice participatory efforts often leave much to be desired. Planners point fingers at the public and accuse it of being apathetic, disengaged, cynical and incompetent to meaningfully participate in complex processes of “scientific” decision making; citizens, in their turn, point fingers at the planners and argue that they are not invited, and when they are, they are not being listened to. Corbett (2006) writes that today polls and interviews demonstrate that most Americans believe their elected representatives first look out for themselves, then for their contributors, leaving the public service well at the end of the list. Mintrom (2003, p.56) observes that “most citizens in the United States and other representative democracies limit their active engagement in politics to those election-day occasions when they enter the ballot booth and cast their votes. For the remainder of their time, citizens complacently pay their federal, state, and local taxes, and, in return, receive services of more-or-less equivalent value.” *AmericaSpeaks*, a non-

profit organization that engages citizens in participatory public decision making, refers to this situation as a “spectator sport democracy.” In search of a solution, it calls for new structures and new processes to reinvigorate American democratic institutions and engage citizens in planning and decision making processes.

Calls for new participatory processes and models are not new. Chapter 2 dedicates a separate section to examining existing participatory planning practices and models. Most of them address the role that citizens play in society which determines their citizen power. Arnstein (1969) illustrates this role with an analogy of a ladder of citizen participation; Eidsvik (1978) – with a grid of decision making power; Friedmann (1987) – with the ordering of planning theories by their degree of citizen participation and citizen power, from social reform and policy analysis to social learning, social mobilization, and radical planning; and Hall (1992) – with the ordering of major planning schools by their degree of public participation, from blueprint and synoptic, to pluralistic planning school. Figure 1 illustrates yet another view of citizen participation by the Regional Environmental Center for Central and Eastern Europe (1996). Similar to above mentioned frameworks, this model distinguishes the role of citizen as voter, constituent, respondent, consultant, and decision maker with the latter representing active participation forms. The goal of this dissertation was to contribute to the development of a working model that would assume an active role of citizen in the process of community tourism planning – a model that could be well placed on top of Figure 1.

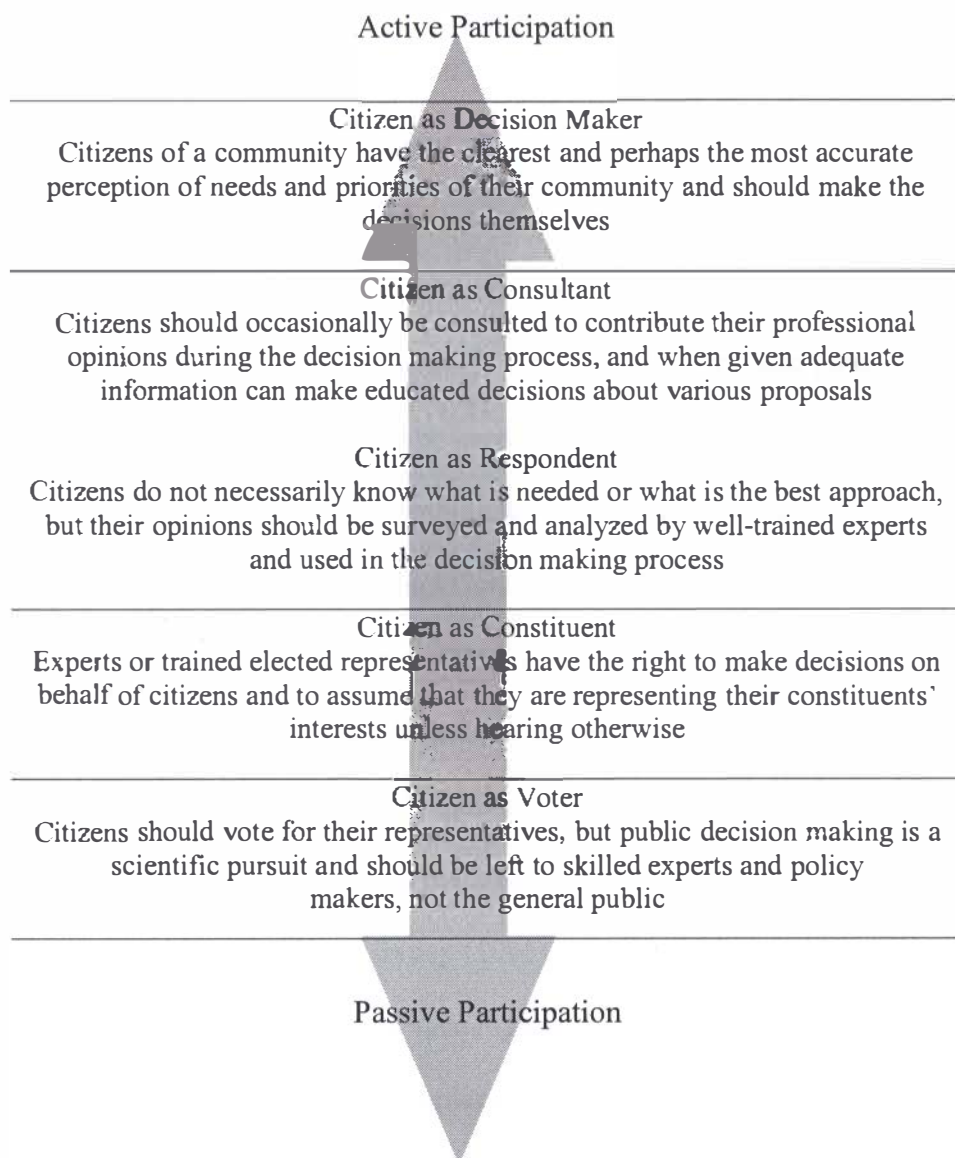


Figure 1. Role of the citizen in society.

Source: The Regional Environmental Center for Central and Eastern Europe, 1996.

In response to calls for participatory planning and decision making in urban and regional planning, the field of tourism had also acknowledged the need for widespread participation in tourism planning (Hall, 2000; Reid, Mair & George, 2004). However, the

recognition of the problem has not led to development of actual tools for involving the larger community in a meaningful way (Reid et al., 2004). According to Jamal and Getz (1999), “community involvement in addressing development issues and impacts is easily recommended, but the difficulties of enacting such processes for *effective* participation tend to be underestimated” (p.291, original emphasis). Reid (2003) added that until now “tourism planning has relied mainly on the social reform and policy analysis models of planning... models which can be used to implement the social learning and social mobilization approaches to planning have remained less well-defined” (p.132). Among others, Harrill (2004), Jamal and Getz (1995, 1999), Murphy and Murphy (2004), Reed (2000), Reid (2003), Reid et al. (2004), and Tosun and Timothy (2001) spoke of the importance of developing a clear and logical process of tourism planning in a community setting, and the need to identify and assess methodologies that can be used to improve public participation in tourism planning activities. The latest attempt has been offered by Reid, Fuller, Haywood & Bryden (1993) who outlined a conceptual model of community development tourism strategy (see Figure 2). This model, while following traditional stages of an entrepreneurial approach to tourism development, introduced an additional stage of stakeholder involvement “not just as a tokenistic exercise but in a real and constructive manner” (Reid, 2003, p.133).

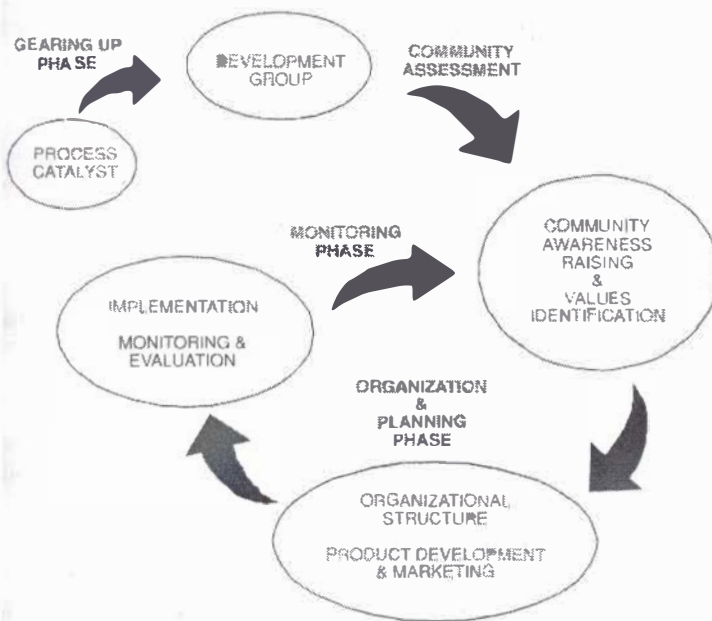


Figure 2. Community development tourism planning strategy.

Source: Reid et al. (1993).

While making an important argument that participatory community tourism planning rarely takes the form of traditional entrepreneurial planning approach, Reid et al. (1993) focused on the strategic vision of community tourism development rather than on the specifics of the process design. This dissertation shifted the emphasis to the latter and stressed the need to examine participatory community tourism planning processes as a prerequisite to successful implementation of the overarching community development strategy.

Deliberative Democracy

For a process to satisfy criteria of effective and meaningful citizen participation, it has to go beyond simply encouraging “citizen discourse” or “good communication” to include deeply engaged civic dialogue (Reed, 2000). Such a process should be clear and open, inclusive and inviting, representative, ongoing, with the constant information flow and elements of social learning. In other words, it has to satisfy two core democratic values – representativeness and deliberation (Fishkin, Rosell, Shepherd & Amsler, 2004). Habermas (1984, 1987) defines deliberation as a process of seeking consensus and persuasion of one’s opponents by civil argumentation rather than force or coercion. His theory of communicative rationality implies an uncoerced and undistorted interaction among competent individuals – an ideal process that aspires to perfection of an “ideal speech situation” (Habermas, 1984). Conditions of this genuine participatory process form the core characteristics of deliberative democratic processes. According to Weblar (1995), Habermas’s (1984, 1987) communicative rationality gives impetus to fair and competent ideal speech situation or what he calls “right” citizen participation.

Habermas’s (1984, 1987) communicative rationality and communicative action have found their most loyal followers in fields of democratic theory and planning. Theories of communicative and collaborative planning (Godschalk & Mills, 1966; Healey, 1992; Innes, 1995, 1996), deliberative planning (Forester, 1989, 1999a; Weeks, 2000), pluralistic planning (Hall, 1992), and discourse planning (Taylor, 1998) draw heavily on Habermas (1984, 1987, 1992, 1996), Dryzek (1990, 2000, 2002), as well as Giddens (1994) who all spoke of dialogue and communication as necessary prerequisites

to a new democratic form of governance. They also draw on Gadamer (1975) who envisioned an ideal form of dialogue as the one resulting in what he called “the fusion of horizons.”

In a similar manner, Weeks (2000) speaks of deliberative democracy using a metaphor of “community dialogue,” or informed participation by citizens in the deliberative process of community decision-making. A sound deliberative democratic process, he argues, must meet the following requirements (Weeks, 2000): (1) broad and representative public participation; (2) informed public judgment; (3) deliberative public participation, and (4) highly credible and methodologically sound outcomes/ results.

Principles of deliberative democracy are not a pure theoretical construct, a method, or a project, but rather a philosophy of governance (Weeks, 2003). Case studies have illustrated how principles of deliberative democracy can be applied to help communities address the most critical issues. These examples showcase how deliberative democratic tools can be used to facilitate the eliciting of broad public participation in a process which provides citizens an opportunity to consider the issues, weigh alternatives, and express a judgment about which policy is preferred (*AmericaSpeaks*, 2004; Hartz-Karp, 2005; Lukensmeyer & Torres, 2003; Stein, Imel, & Henderson, 2004; Weeks, 2000).

Ultimately, the goal of deliberative democracy is to revitalize civic culture, improve the nature of public discourse, and generate the political will necessary to take effective action on pressing problems (Weeks, 2000). Applied to community tourism planning, the framework of deliberative democracy could provide a valuable tool of

strengthening community's social capital through networks and norms of civic engagement, enhancing quality of community life, and paving the road to sustainable development (Beesley, 1983; Putnam, 1993).

Community Tourism Planning

Throughout its evolution over the past few decades, tourism planning has drawn heavily on urban and regional planning practices (Hall, 2000). In a similar manner, tourism planning is carried out at different levels of development – international/ intraregional, national, regional, and local (Inskeep, 1991; Pearce, 1989; WTO, 1994). National and regional tourism planning is mainly concerned with tourism development in broad general terms and has as its goals establishing tourism development policies and providing the framework for development of detailed plans for tourist attractions, resorts, urban, rural and other forms of tourism development (World Tourism Organization, with Inskeep, 1994). Quite often tourism planning is embedded within/ overlaps with other policy fields such as transportation, conservation, rural development, and others (Heeley, 1981 in Pearce, 1989). On the local level tourism planning can take forms of land use planning, physical planning (planning of specific areas and sites, resort planning), and development planning. Local/ community tourism planning is often referred to as destination planning (Marcouiller, 1997).

Planning at the local level (including tourism planning) has recently attracted a fair amount of attention. Hibbard (1999) writes that local control not only has strong roots in the American system of governance, but also “the public interest” is more tangible and visible at the local level. In addition, any developmental effects can be seen

and are experienced or suffered at the local level (Bennett & Krebs, 1991). Tourism in this sense is in a unique position – like no other industry, it relies heavily on the goodwill and cooperation of host communities (Murphy, 1985). Lack of local cooperation, and resistance and hostility of local community can hinder or reverse the industry's potential (Harrill, 2004; Murphy, 1985). Therefore it becomes increasingly important to ensure that those who will have to live with tourism outcomes are involved in every stage of tourism planning and decision making process.

In early eighties, Murphy (1983, 1985) argued for an alternative to traditional top-down tourism planning approach, putting forward an idea of tourism as a community industry. Since then, discussions around the need of the new integrated, comprehensive, sustainable and community-driven tourism development have proliferated, yet no clear and logical process of tourism planning in a community setting has been developed (Harrill, 2004; Harrill and Potts, 2003; Inskip, 1988; Jamal & Getz, 1995, 1999; Murphy & Murphy, 2004; Reed, 2000; Reid, 2003; Reid et al., 2004; Simmons, 1994). Despite the growing interest in participatory tourism planning models, years after tourism planning was announced as one of planning's emerging specializations, the literature on it remains scarce, and existing tourism planning models are being criticized for emphasizing an end product rather than the process, and failing to ensure evaluation of outcomes to increase understanding of the whole system (Getz, 1983).

Advocating the new coordinated approach to tourism planning, Loukissas (1983) wrote that involvement of those affected in the formulation of tourism plans will not only help build support for the plans, but will also build bridges of trust and confidence among

planners, the general public, and the private industry, leading to better understanding of the tourism development impacts and the need for planning. Community oriented approached to tourism planning and development can provide valuable guidelines for policy makers (Liu & Var, 1986), whereas without public participation tourism growth may make little contribution to the objectives of development (Tosun & Timothy, 2001).

Despite divergence of views on the future of tourism planning, tourism literature emphasizes that the most successful examples of tourism occur in communities in which there is broadly based resident participation in planning and development of tourism projects (Cooke, 1982). It therefore calls for further research on collaboration and partnerships (Bramwell & Lane, 1999), and emphasizes a practical need to reshape existing tourism planning practices by adopting a new participatory tourism planning model which is yet to be developed. This dissertation responds to this call by suggesting the possible use of deliberative democratic framework to expand the participatory tourism planning literature.

Significance of the Study

More than a century ago Alexis deTocqueville (1835/1840) spoke of civic virtue, active citizenship, and strong community associations as unique features of American society that had distinctly shaped its form of democratic governance. Years later, this highly praised model of representative democracy is being fiercely criticized for failing to engage the public as the ultimate powerholders in making decisions that directly affect their lives. While calls for direct democracy grow stronger, governments remain hesitant to accept participatory approaches as their role of public representation may be

questioned through moves toward citizen empowerment (Tosun & Timothy, 2001). Many industries, including tourism, find themselves torn between playing corporate political games of power distribution and attempting to achieve sustainability guidelines set forth by *Brundtland Report* (1987) and *Agenda 21* (1992). The dominant rational bureaucratic ideology does not help address complex issues that tourism industry faces today, quite the opposite, it only further intensifies existing disconnect between tourism planners and the public. “Just say No” movements and finger pointing are not anymore a rare occurrence, and the search for possible solutions often does not move beyond unsubstantiated calls for tourism planners and developers to do this and that at the expense of building understanding of what is actually being undertaken and bridging the gap between theory and practice (Timothy, 1999).

The importance of tourism planning has been widely addressed in the literature. Planning is needed in new destinations charting their development, as well as in older destinations attempting to innovate and attract new markets (Harrill, 2004). As traditional “top-down” planning approaches have continuously failed to address new realities, there is a need to develop new tourism planning approaches and models. Enlarging the sphere of public discourse on important issues can help revitalize local communities, and utilizing the principles and practices of deliberative democracy in community tourism planning can provide an invaluable resource for bringing those most affected by the problem to the core of solving the problem.

The purpose of this study was to compare and contrast the current practices of citizen involvement in community tourism planning with the framework of deliberative

democracy. The goal of this study was to expand the literature on tourism planning which currently lacks a working framework for participatory community tourism planning. Drawing from political philosophy, democratic theory, and planning literature, this study utilized the framework of deliberative democracy and planning as communicative action, in order to contribute to the development of a model of participatory community tourism planning.

Research Objectives and Research Questions

This study addressed the following research objectives: (1) to identify and describe current practices and examples of participatory community tourism planning; (2) to compare and contrast identified practices with the framework of deliberative democracy and planning as communicative action, and (3) to contribute to the development of a model of participatory community tourism planning that would incorporate existing tourism planning practices and theoretical principles of deliberative democracy.

The main characteristics of deliberative democratic processes outlined by Rowe, Marsh and Frewer (2001), Rowe, Marsh, Reynolds and Frewer (2001), and Marsh, Rowe and Frewer (2001) guided research questions for this study. More specifically, this study sought answers to the following research questions: (1) to what extent did current practices of participatory community tourism planning in selected communities align with the evaluative framework of participatory processes developed by Rowe, Marsh and Frewer (2001), Rowe, Marsh, Reynolds and Frewer (2001), and Marsh, Rowe and Frewer (2001)?; (2) to what extent did the selected communities differ from one another with

regard to the evaluative framework of participatory processes developed by Rowe, Marsh and Frewer (2001), Rowe, Marsh, Reynolds and Frewer (2001), and Marsh, Rowe and Frewer (2001)?; (3) what were the similarities between the selected communities and the framework developed by Rowe, Marsh and Frewer (2001), Rowe, Marsh, Reynolds and Frewer (2001), and Marsh, Rowe and Frewer (2001)?, and (4) could a model of participatory community tourism planning that would incorporate existing tourism planning practices and theoretical principles of deliberative democracy (Rowe, Marsh & Frewer [2001], Rowe, Marsh, Reynolds & Frewer [2001], and Marsh, Rowe & Frewer [2001] framework) be developed?

Methodology

Since the goal of this study was to improve tourism planning practice and to facilitate further research in collaborative and dialogic tourism planning models, it adopted a multicase evaluative research design recommended for these purposes by Merriam (1988), Stake (1995, 2005, 2006), and Yin (1994). More specifically, this study focused on examination of three separate cases of community tourism planning efforts in order to understand the broader phenomenon of community tourism planning, while not losing the sight of complexities of each specific case. Stake (2005) writes that the goal of a multicase research design is to better understand a larger phenomenon using selection of cases with the premise that “understanding them will lead to better understanding, and perhaps better theorizing, about a still larger collection of cases” (p.446).

Cases for this study were selected based on recommendations of a panel of experts, review of pertinent literature, as well as logistics of the data collection process.

The selection process was undertaken in four steps:

1. A panel of experts including academics and practitioners in fields of tourism/ resource/ destination planning, community tourism planning and development, and urban and collaborative planning, was contacted with request to identify relevant cases of recent tourism planning efforts in communities across North America that would warrant investigation in terms of citizen involvement;
2. Panel recommendations were reviewed in order to determine logistics of the data collection process (in terms of budget, distance, access to and quality of public records, and availability of contact person);
3. Several case studies were selected for further examination; initial contacts were established in these communities, and public records were examined to gather preliminary information about their planning processes; and
4. The final selection was narrowed down to three communities – Dubuque (Iowa), Hood River (Oregon), and Ucluelet (British Columbia). These communities were at different stages in developing their tourism product and exhibited unique features of their planning processes that would add to the depth of the study; furthermore, the key players and community residents were enthusiastic and willing to participate in the study, and there was an abundance of public records. Finally, logistics of the research process facilitated community visits and data collection and analysis.

Three main methods of data collection were utilized in this research project: (1) analysis of administrative, planning and legal documents and records, as well as census data, media reports, and others; (2) phone and face-to-face interviews (both formal and informal) with tourism planners, developers, and residents who had first-hand experience participating in community tourism planning processes, and (3) observations to support/improve interpretations of the interview findings. Assertions drawn from interviews were supported by observations, while analysis of documents and public records provided a better understanding of the context in which participatory tourism planning process occurred.

This dissertation adhered to the interpretivist paradigm of inquiry and assumptions of the socially constructed nature of reality and the intimate relationship between the researcher and the phenomenon studied (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005a). Emphasizing the value-laden nature of inquiry, this study focused on seeking meanings and understanding of participatory community tourism planning processes, rather than on grand generalizations (Stake, 2006). The researcher took a direct, candid, and open-minded approach to working with ambiguity while sorting through descriptions, interpretations, opinions and feelings of study participants in an attempt to produce the best possible interpretations of participatory tourism planning processes.

Definitions

Community dialogue – a new democratic form of governance based on inclusive, inviting, dialogic participatory process of the information sharing and decision making (Weeks, 2000).

Community revitalization – encompasses various means to create community well-being including economic development, urban and regional planning, and the vitality of localities (Spitzer & Baum, 1994).

Deliberation – a process of seeking consensus and persuasion of one's opponents by argumentation, not force or coercion (Habermas, 1984).

Deliberative democracy – an informed participation by citizens in the deliberative process of community decision making (Weeks, 2000).

Planning – a process of creating opportunities for dialogue, learning, and societal guidance (Stankey, McCool, Clark & Brown, 1999).

Plans – documents that rationally lay out a course of action in relation to specified goals (Friedmann, 1987).

Social capital – social connectedness, interactions and networks in which members of a community develop norms for collective action through mutual support for accomplishing goals that enhance community life (Putnam & Goss, 2002).

Tourism – activities of persons traveling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes not related to the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited (World Tourism Organization, 2005).

Tourism planning – concerned with anticipating and regulating change in a system, to promote orderly development and increase the social, economic and environmental benefits of the development process (Murphy, 1985).

Tourism plans – international/ intraregional, national, regional and local documents outlining tourism development in a specified area.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Conceptualizing Participatory Planning and Practice

The purpose of this study was to compare and contrast the current practices of citizen involvement in community tourism planning with the framework of deliberative democracy. The goal of this chapter is to guide the development of study framework, drawing from the fields of planning, political philosophy, critical theory, democratic theory, and tourism planning and development. It is by no means a complete review of the literature in these areas but rather the most up-to-date overview of theories and practices underlying processes of participatory planning and decision making today. It is indeed a difficult task to incorporate thoughts of those holding opposite views and beliefs of what is “right” in citizen involvement in planning and decision making. As Rosener (1978, p.458) put it, “there should be little doubt that knowing who is doing the perceiving is crucial to any understanding of the effectiveness of citizen participation” (in Renn, Webler, Rakel, Dienel & Johnson, 1993). In other words, the domain we are about to explore is inextricably shaped by politics, ideology, power structures, ethics, values, and morality. Throughout the chapter, the reader will come to realize that theories and practices of citizen participation today rest on numerous assumptions that define the differences in one’s perceptions and interpretations of what citizen involvement is, what goals and purposes (or which public interest) it serves, and in what form, if any, it should be embedded within the current tradition of democratic governance. A few words of caution should be made at this point. First, the author holds the view of Creighton (2005)

who argued that there is no such thing as a “one-size-fits-all public participation,” however there are critical issues that differentiate successful planning processes from unsuccessful ones. Therefore anyone looking for a defined model of citizen participation in planning should be reminded that as is the case with any social activity, planning is contextual and therefore the specifics of a particular planning situation should be carefully examined and taken into considerations prior to deciding on how and when to involve citizens in the process of community planning and decision making. It is not the purpose of this dissertation to provide a checklist of “what works” tools and techniques, but rather a list of guidelines drawn from theory and practice, to be revised and adapted by practicing planners depending on the context of the issue to be addressed, political and moral complexity of the planning problem, and availability of time and financial resources.

The study and practice of citizen involvement has a long and rich heritage, and is reappearing again on the public scene in response to the growing disenchantment with traditional models and tools of planning and decision making. In recent years calls for broader and meaningful citizen participation have been associated with calls for strengthening democracy, equalizing power structures, and building civil society. Therefore interest in citizen involvement has come from the most diverse groups of society: national governments have referred to *Agenda 21* and the 1992 agreement at the *Earth Summit* in Rio de Janeiro which emphasized integration, participation, and information as the main watchwords of sustainable development; states and local governments have viewed citizen participation as a part of legal yet unclear participation

mandates; various non-governmental organizations have advocated the vision of livable communities with strong social capital; and the public has demanded increased accountability of powerholders and more influence on decisions that directly affect communities. Programs emphasizing inclusive, ongoing dialogue towards developing public policy have proliferated under various names – “sustainable communities,” “livable communities,” “collaborative communities,” “safe communities,” “healthy communities,” “smart growth communities,” “competent communities,” and “empowered communities,” to name a few (Wolff, 2003). International and professional organizations have established financial awards and have supported communities that embraced new democratic forms of governance; academics have engaged in lively discussions of the promises and threats of participatory planning, and planners have been developing town meetings, public surveys, citizen committees, collaborative forums, and opinion surveys in order to engage the public in planning and decision making. However, more often than not these most noble efforts have failed to achieve their goals and have therefore left the public even more disenchanted and cynical about the willingness of authorities to listen to their constituencies. Governments and planners have been complaining about apathy, low voter turnout, alienation, disengagement, cynicism and incompetence of the public, and community groups in their turn have been organizing protests, initiating litigation processes, and delaying implementation of projects. Quoting deLeon (1992, p.125), the situation has been of “finger pointing rather than the proposition of real remedies.” Even though none of the parties has had bad intentions, what has been missing from the equation is the model of the process that planners and the public could utilize to initiate

collaborative efforts, the model that would enable further analysis and subsequent evaluation of efforts undertaken, the model that would guide participatory initiatives using best practices of community-led planning and decision making, and would help avoid potential pitfalls. It is the purpose of this chapter to explore these issues in more detail. To this end, this chapter will consist of four separate yet intertwined sections. The first section will review history and current theories and practices of citizen involvement in planning and decision making, inadequacies of traditional planning practices, and existing participatory planning practices and models. The second section will establish framework for the study, drawing on the work of Habermas (1984, 1987), Webler (1995), Forester (1989, 1999a, 2006, 2007), and Dryzek (1990, 2000, 2002). It will specifically discuss theoretical principles of deliberative democracy, and practical response through planning as communicative action. The third section will examine participatory planning theories and practices in the field of tourism, and will discuss existing participatory tourism planning models and evaluative frameworks. Finally, the last section will suggest the application of the framework of deliberative democracy in tourism theory and practice in response to the increased emphasis on the need to develop a normative model of participatory community tourism planning.

Citizen Participation: An Essentially Contested Concept?

The idea of citizen participation is a little like eating spinach: no one is against it in principle because it is good for you. Participation of the governed in their government is, in theory, the cornerstone of democracy – a revered idea that is vigorously applauded by virtually everyone (Arnstein, 1969, p.216).

With this sentence Sherri Arnstein opened her seminal *Ladder of Citizen Participation* in 1969. Among others, several of her arguments are critical – that citizen participation is the cornerstone of democratic society, that currently it has taken forms of what she defined as “tokenism” or symbolic ritual which excludes the have-nots from the political and economic processes, and that social reform and redistribution of power are needed to enable all citizens to “share in the benefits of the affluent society.” Arnstein (1969) viewed citizen participation as a categorical term for citizen power, and advocated for a shift from citizen manipulation to a genuine partnership based on dialogue and shared responsibilities of all participants.

Arnstein’s arguments were perhaps illustrative to the growing discontent with existing political and administrative practices in the sixties. Envisioning a more just and equal society, she was among those initiating the conversation in support of participatory processes in transportation planning. Strong and powerful, her arguments were picked up by urban and regional planning, developmental planning, environmental planning, and other fields. Literature on citizen participation, civic engagement, empowerment and communicative action proliferated, reaching its peak in sixties and seventies, recessing in eighties, and reappearing again in recent years. Theorists from different disciplines further expanded and elaborated Arnstein’s arguments and gave them a different turn. In urban and regional planning Kravitz (1970) spoke of liberation planning, Friedmann (1973, 1987) of transactive planning and social transformation, Godschalk and Mills (1966), Forester (1989, 1999a), Healey (1992), and Innes (1995, 1996) of communicative and collaborative planning, Hall (1992) of pluralistic planning, Plein et al. (1998) of

organic planning, and Taylor (1998) of the discourse model of planning. Their work was heavily influenced not only by Arnstein (1969), but also by Habermas (1984, 1987, 1992, 1996), Dryzek (1990, 2000, 2002), and Giddens (1994) who all spoke of dialogue and communication as necessary prerequisites to a new democratic form of governance. In tourism planning Murphy (1983, 1985), Getz (1986), Haywood (1988), Ritchie (1988), Blank (1989), Pearce (1989), Butler (1991), Ioannides (1995), Jamal and Getz (1995, 1999), Hall (2000), Reed (2000), Reid (2003), Harrill (2004), and others emphasized the need to develop new integrated, comprehensive, sustainable and community-driven collaborative tourism initiatives.

The most recent development in fields of political philosophy, democratic theory, critical theory, and planning has been the one of deliberative democracy and planning as communicative action (Benhabib, 1996a; Bessette, 1980, 1994; Cohen 1989; Dryzek, 2000, 2002; Elster, 1998; Fishkin, 1991; Forester, 1999a; Gutmann & Thompson, 1996, 2004; Habermas, 1996; Levine, 2003; Rawls, 1993; Weeks, 2000). The main principles of deliberative democracy will be discussed later in this chapter. In brief, it supports the argument that only through the public deliberation of the citizenry can the legitimate lawmaking be achieved. Unlike currently existing representative democracy (arguably a prototype of a form of governance that was practiced in Ancient Rome), deliberative democracy has its roots in Athenian direct form of governance that emphasized the need to bring citizens together to form a collective judgment on community issues. Citizen participation therefore lies at the core of deliberative democracy.

Turbulent evolution of concepts of citizen participation, empowerment, civic engagement, and new democratic processes (e.g. deliberative democracy) has brought to light existing inadequacies of governance, decision making and planning, and offered a new perspective on addressing these inadequacies. Examination of these new perspectives forms the focus of this dissertation. Throughout this dissertation the author will argue that the time is right and the need is great to embed the idea of citizen participation in the concept of representative democracy. Such a change will not revolutionize but rather transform the existing system by establishing a permanent connection between the governed and those who govern (Fundación Ambiente y Recursos Naturale, 2001).

As Stein and Harper (1996) noted, what is needed today in terms of societal developments is not a radical paradigm shift but rather a change, in words of Rawls (1993) a “reaffirmation of our deeply entrenched moral values, values that have been temporarily lost by many in today’s alienated and impoverished society. These values include respect for individuals in the context of community, respect for dialogue and for reason, more equitable distribution of both political and economic power, and the virtues of moderation, humility and the willingness to change one’s mind” (Stein & Harper, 1996, p.97). What is needed today by practicing planners and tourism developers is a working model of how to bring those most affected by the problem to the core of solving the problem (adapted from Wolff, 2003), a model of inclusive process of citizen-led planning and decision making within the framework of communicative action, social learning, and citizen empowerment. Such a model is lacking today to help implement the

vision of building strong democratic communities and reclaiming American civil society that once so greatly impressed Alexis deTocqueville.

What exactly citizen participation entails has long been discussed, and until this time there has not been a clear-cut and widely agreed upon definition of it (Checkoway & Van Til, 1978; Fainstein & Fainstein, 1985). Day (1997) suggested distinction between substantive and procedural definitions of citizen participation. The former holds that processes and policies are democratic if they incorporate the substantive interests of the polity (see the work of Sherri Arnstein, 1969), whereas the latter focuses on the design of the process itself, in other words democracy is reflected through the procedures and institutional arrangements for arriving at decisions (see the work of Joseph Schumpeter, 1943). These philosophical differences partially explain why citizen participation is often viewed as an “essentially contested concept” (Day, 1997).

The next heated question addresses the purposes of citizen participation. In terms of arguments and counterarguments, it looks as follows. First, if citizen participation should serve the public interest, can we whole-heartedly agree that there is a steady and clearly defined “public interest,” or is it a transitory phenomenon, shifting in response to changes in the power and importance of contending interests (Schubert, 1960 in McCool & Stankey, 2003)? Second, if citizen participation should improve decision making by incorporating local knowledge, how do we ensure that participants’ contributions to the dialogue are knowledgeable and competent? As Innes and Booher (2004) pointed out, “planners and administrators can be out of touch with communities and local knowledge, but citizens can be out of touch with political and economic realities and long-term

considerations for a community or resource” (p.421). Third, if citizen participation should advance justice and fairness, how do we ensure that everyone is provided with the equal opportunity to determine agenda and the rules for discourse, have equal access to knowledge and information, speak freely, and influence the decision making (Webler, 1995)? Fourth and fifth, if citizen participation is practiced to gain legitimacy for decisions, or to satisfy legal mandates, how do we ensure that the participation processes move from “window dressing” to meaningful and authentic dialogue and communication? Each of these questions requires a serious reflection of everyone who wishes to design a process that is inclusive, fair and competent. Finally, Innes and Booher (2004) have added to the purposes of citizen participation the one of building civil society and creating policies capable of addressing “wicked problems” (this concept is further elaborated in subsequent paragraphs).

If the definition, goals and purposes of citizen participation appear to be contingent on one’s worldviews, there is a widespread agreement on the benefits of citizen participation. Not only is participation inherently good and worthy, it also fosters a more democratic form of governance, facilitates planning, improves quality of decisions, minimizes costs and delays, helps build consensus on complex issues, increases ease of implementing decisions, helps avoid worst-case confrontations, maintains credibility and legitimacy of decision makers, anticipates public concerns and attitudes, and helps develop civil society (adapted from Creighton, 2005 and Day, 1997). In a similar manner, Innes and Booher (2004) characterize effective (collaborative) participatory models as inclusive of all stakeholders, having dialogue at their core,

allowing time to explore interests, where all participants are treated equally, learning takes place, conflicts are resolved, innovations emerge, and problems are solved jointly.

Some argue that in its complexity the ideal of participatory planning and decision making is unattainable, but at the same time they agree that it has a great potential for dealing with the complex issues of today's society that go beyond technical, analytical and design questions and rather incorporate a mix of ethics, human values, and what we consider the highest priorities of our society (Krumholz, 1996). A set of problems that planners today have to deal with is characterized by scientific uncertainty and social conflicts over goals; often these problems have no solutions, only temporary and imperfect resolutions – what Rittel and Webber (1973), Allen and Gould (1986), and Harmon and Mayer (1986) defined as “wicked problems.” Fischer (1993) notes that these new realities have become increasingly problematic to deal with using traditional “top-down” methods, and there is a need for a shift in planning models to new participatory approaches. This need is pressing, since as Nelkin (1981, p.274) pointed out, existing scientific and technocratic approaches have “not only failed to solve social problems but often contributed to them” (in deSario & Langton, 1987).

The inability of traditional models to deal with complex problems is partly explained by their focus on technical rather than value questions. As deSario and Langton (1987, p.8) explained “technical decisions require the application and extrapolation of science to determine and harness the potential of “what is”; value questions involve normative determinations of “what should be.” The resulting skepticism in the power of traditional models has caused a growing demand for greater citizen participation in

decision making. The response varied – while in the United Kingdom the government introduced initiatives to support participatory planning and decision making, in the United States these initiatives remained mostly with non-governmental organizations while at the same time being backed by state public participation mandates (Wilson, 1999). Today participatory processes are in the mainstream of contemporary public policy of many developed democracies (Murray & Greer, 2002). The new question is whether existing planning models are participatory in any meaningful way (Hibbard & Lurie, 2000). As King, Feltey & Susel (1998) noted, modern participatory techniques are not real and authentic, hence they are not effective. Authentic participation, they argue, is based on continuous involvement in administrative processes with the potential for all involved to have an effect on decisions made. Authentic and meaningful public engagement moves beyond gathering citizen input or satisfying procedural requirements to involving citizens in a dialogic discourse focused on learning, consensus building, and the appropriate accommodation of varying interests (McCool & Stankey, 2003). The ideal discourse would not privilege one group over the other but would rather ensure that all participants are equal in their influence (Habermas, 1975). It would be a conversation with many voices extending horizons of its participants through dialogue and communication (Dryzek, 1982). Finally, it would foster civic communities and bring about sustainable development.

Unfortunately, authentic and meaningful civic engagement in planning and decision making today is a rare occurrence rather than a norm. As a result, citizens distrust government and local authorities, the gap between the two grows, and political

apathy becomes the norm (Barber, 1984). Putnam (1995, 2000) argues that we are now “bowling alone,” and the National Commission on Civic Renewal (1997) calls us “a nation of spectators.” The results of a study by the Roper Center for Public Research over a twenty-year period are striking: the number of Americans who served as an officer of some club or organization declined by 42%, the number of those who worked for a political party declined by 42%, the number of those who served on a committee for some local organization declined by 39%, the number of those who attended a public meeting on town or school affairs declined by 35%, and the number of those who attended a political rally or a speech declined by 34%. At the same time, the number of Americans reporting distrust of the government has increased from 30% in 1966 to 75% in 1993 (Putnam, 1995; for an extensive discussion of the attitudes of the American public towards key institutions see Seymour and Schneider, 1983). *AmericaSpeaks* (2004) adds to this list findings of a poll conducted by the Pew Charitable Trusts which found that fewer than four in ten Americans believe that “most elected officials care what people like me think”; finally, according to a New York Times/CBS News poll in 2000, only 10% of Americans said they believed people like themselves had a say in what the government does, while over 60% of those surveyed said people like themselves did not have a say most of the time. In essence, these numbers illustrate the loss of opportunities for people to interact with each other that has undermined the creation of shared values and understandings (Portney, 2005). Without the vision of a shared future communities fail to function as political entities and decision making tends to be mostly elitist with benefits only for the few. Democratic planning and decision making descends to the

domain of experts and politicians, with the public having no voice in the process. The section that follows will address the question of why traditional planning and decision making models have mostly failed to live up to their expectations. It will examine inadequacies of existing participation mandates, as well as inadequacies of traditional planning and decision making models.

Inadequacies of Current Practices, or Why Citizen Participation Does Not Work

The fundamental model of decision making is irrelevant as a guide to for actual decision making because of the sheer impossibility of performing most of [its] steps (Kweit & Kweit, 1987, p.23).

In 1978 Judy Rosener wrote that the planning of citizen participation had been inadequate because of the failure to recognize its complexity and the lack of thought put into designing effective participation programs. John Forester added in 2006 that effective public participation is easy to preach but difficult to practice. Yes, many agree that citizen participation is “the right thing to do” (Innes & Booher, 2004), and that it holds numerous benefits to its participants and to the society. Not only is citizen participation a democratic right, but with citizens voicing their concerns collectively, social justice is more likely to be achieved, and after all informed citizens must be involved in bureaucratic governance in order to keep bureaucracies responsive to changing societal needs (Vasoo, 1991). Similar to grass-root mobilization, participatory planning views citizens not only as service recipients and taxpayers, but also as citizens with responsibility for the greater collective good (Hibbard & Lurie, 2000). However, the practice shows that often people would prefer to watch sporting events or to go to the cinema than attend public meetings about community based issues (Wilson, 1999), and

that bureaucrats believe that their life would be much easier if participation were not integrated into public policy (Kweit & Kweit, 1987). Planners and decision makers are therefore often hesitant to embark on the full-fledge participatory initiatives envisioning them as “messy emotional [processes] of intense human interaction, struggles for power, and strongly held beliefs about what is good for our societies” (Creighton, 2005, p.245). Citizens, on their side, appear to have learned from their life experiences and the media that “for the average person, most forms of citizenship, frequently including voting, is a waste of time” (Stivers, 1990, p.95). As a result the disconnect between the planners and the public grows, and the planning profession is being further criticized for being an “ivory tower endeavor,” largely disattached from the public (Judd & Mendelson, 1973). The section that follows will address the often invisible undercurrents feeding into these commonly held perceptions of participatory planning in order to examine why citizen participation as practiced today has failed to work.

Dalton (1986) believes that alternative approaches to planning are not gaining acceptance among practitioners because: (1) despite the claims of rationality and scientific knowledge base of planning decisions, planners usually take a contingency approach, adopting planning to the specific situation; (2) the consultant-client relationship that exists today is more convenient than the planner-public relationship, and this status lets public agency planners “off the hook” from the public; (3) the public does not have any influence on setting planning agenda since it is often influenced by paying clients who pursue their private goals; (4) planners fail to effectively deal with an inherent political nature of their field, and (5) theoretical discussions of rationality,

knowledge base and alternative planning processes do not go beyond academia, therefore planners are not aware of how these other alternative planning processes can enhance their practice (Dalton, 1986). The emphasis here is placed on existing disconnect between planning theory and practice, and on the need to inform the planning practice about the new alternative ways to meaningfully involve the public in the planning process.

Arguments of Dalton (1986) resemble those of Rich and Rosenbaum (1981) who noted that one of the problems of planning today is that it has been difficult to document the impact of public participation upon agency policies, and that planners are not aware of how engaging the public will benefit their programs. What follows below is a summary of other arguments that have been put forward to explain inadequacies of traditional planning and decision making models.

1. The modern administrative state is too complex and therefore impedes effective citizen participation that depends on face-to-face communication and dialogue.

Referring to the problem of scale, King et al. (1998) noted that in the modern society time constraints, family structure, transportation and other issues make active citizenship problematic. Many planners agree that it is more feasible to craft participatory processes in neighborhoods and small communities as compared to the state or nation. The literature lists a large number of successful collaborative projects on the small scale, at the same time there exist a number of projects employing large scale forums to engage citizens in planning and decision making at regional and national levels of governance (for example see *AmericaSpeaks* at <http://www.americaspeaks.org>). Hibbard (1999) explains that the trend towards “devolution” or shift of responsibility from higher to

lower levels of government supports local control of planning and decision making. In addition, he believes that “public interest” is more tangible and visible at the local level (Hibbard, 1999). Oliver (2000) notes that people in larger cities are much less likely to contact officials, attend community or organizational meetings, or vote in local elections, whereas people in smaller places are more civically involved. He concludes that as the size of the city grows, people are less socially connected with their neighbors, less interested in local politics, and less active in local civic affairs (Oliver, 2000). Since effective communication is an important prerequisite to effective planning practice (Margerum, 2002), some suggest splitting a larger community in districts or neighborhoods prior to initiating inclusive dialogical processes. Of course, there is always a possibility to organize a referendum on a pressing issue, but as Wilson (1999) points out, referendums carry out “citizen power without responsibility,” and for the citizens and communities to become equal participants in the planning process, face-to-face communication and dialogue are needed. Authentic communication, as many note, is only feasible at a small scale.

2. Citizens are unable to meaningfully and effectively participate in complex processes of public decision making.

Planners have often been skeptical of average citizen’s ability to comprehend complexities of public decision making and meaningfully and effectively partake in these processes. As Émile Durkheim once said, the real information was “too complex for people,” and Joseph Schumpeter added that people cannot be “carried up the ladder.” Fagence (1977) believes that not everyone is equally qualified to decide thoughtfully on

all issues, and Day (1997) and Stivers (1990) discuss a widespread suspicion of the ability of the "masses" to contribute constructively to governance. These views further feed into the continuous question of whether governance can be both democratic and effective. In addition, the dominant rational and technocratic nature of planning and decision making does not easily accommodate issues that are brought into it with citizen participation – issues of politics, values, ethics, and morality (de Leon, 1992; Stein & Harper, 1996). The role of planners as technical experts also intimidates ordinary citizens to voice their concerns which are viewed as unscientific and therefore not rigorous and not valid. In addition, citizens are often uninformed about the issues, or do not have experience enabling them to comfortably follow technical jargon used by many or business and development groups. As a result they lose the ability to question the discussion and even more so the agenda.

An inherent weakness of many participatory processes today is that they do not provide citizens with relevant, timely and adequate information in easily understandable format in order to enable them to form attitudes and arrive at informed opinions (Keogh, 1990). Not only does provision of adequate information define the meaningfulness and efficacy of public participation, this information must also be readily accessible (Lucas, 1978). Studies examining community awareness of the critical issues conclude that residents are usually not familiar with the information that is available, and that the information is usually not readily accessible (see Keogh, 1990). These studies warn that the lack of information not only hinders the process of effective public participation, but also increases the threat of attracting potentially biased groups. Information plays a

critical role in the planning process and therefore information sharing and mutual education should be put at the list of priorities of any public participation initiative.

Innes (1998) further expands discussion of the role of information by emphasizing that there are many kinds of information/ knowledge that planners and decision makers have to come to terms with, among them – scientific information, participants' own experiences, personal stories, and intuition. The complex problems of today's world, she argues, require more than one fixed solution and therefore planners need to learn to utilize different kinds of information more effectively. Here Innes (1998) alludes to Habermas (1984) who differentiated between three types of knowledge interests: (1) for instrumental or technical purposes; (2) for practical or interpretive purposes, and (3) for critical or emancipatory purposes. The first type of knowledge interests calls for empirical information, the second is best served by human experiences, and the third draws on intuition. Incorporating the different types of information and knowledge in public planning and decision making will represent a powerful shift in practice and will enable an expansion of horizons to the benefits of the process outcomes (Dryzek, 1982). The "hidden role of information" is indeed a powerful factor in communicative planning and decision making. Until now, public planning agencies have mainly relied on provision of information to the public (a one-way information flow) as opposed to the two-way dialogue (Hanna, 2000). Daniels and Walker (1996, p.73) cite one of the planners saying, "If the public only knew what we know, they would agree with us; how can they be taught that what we are doing is right?" Such a statement certainly has a learning emphasis, they argue, but the learning here is unidirectional – of professionals

educating the public about the problem. This worldview that planners are always “right” still dominates the planning practice, but it indeed overtly departs from communicative planning theory.

Studies suggest that stakeholders in participatory planning processes want a better and more meaningful participation which requires planners to rethink the role and the use of information (Hanna, 2000). In addition, if the field of planning is interested in opening up the public sphere to a richer, more pluralistic participatory discourse, planners and decision makers have to come to terms with the other forms of information and, as Healey and Hillier (1996) pointed out, “unpack the rich forms of knowledge.” Quoting Petts (1997, p.378), “the public are not information poor: they can capitalize upon a range of cultural and experiential resources.” If fair and competent decisions are to be made, as Alexander Hamilton suggested, it is not public opinion that we need to guide us, but wise public judgment (in Atlee, 2002). We will return to discussion of the concept of public judgment later in this chapter. As of now it should be only noted that the change these theorists and planners are calling for might bring a shift in current power structures. Without it, however, administrators and planners will continue to struggle with citizens’ inability to effectively participate in public planning and decision making processes.

3. Participatory processes are unrepresentative of the larger public.

Another criticism of public participation practices comes from the fact that they are often not representative of the broader population. As Levy (1992) noted, currently citizen participation in planning is dominated by “interest group politics,” therefore groups that get involved in public process are those whose private interests are at stake. These

concerns have been around for a long time – Gans (1968) warned that participants in public decision making are usually professional politicians, economically concerned businesspeople, and those in the middle and upper middle classes who are ideologically motivated and well educated (Gans, 1968 in Day, 1997). Molotch (1976) suggested a “growth machine” theory to explain this phenomenon. Following his argument, communities are complex entities conceived of units striving “at the expense of others, to enhance the land-use potential of the parcels with which [they are] associated” (p.311). In other words, public decision making processes tend to attract development “lovers” and “haters,” or those who perceive the issue to be in their immediate and tangible interest, and leave behind so called “realists” who usually have a balanced view on the issue (Madrigal, 1995). In addition, most of participatory processes exclude low income population whose voice remains unheard by decision makers (Fainstein & Fainstein, 1985; Kweit & Kweit, 1987; Vasoo, 1991). A study of Verba and Nie (1972) concludes that propensity for political participation is positively related to individual’s social status. Other studies concur with similar findings: an examination of participatory processes in Shelburne (Vermont) found that public surveys were “self-selecting” and scared off the less educated people (Robinson, 1991); two studies of participatory processes in Austin (Texas) and Atlanta (Georgia) found participants of public processes to be more affluent and better educated, besides holding opinions different from those of the general public (Beatley, Brower & Lucy, 1994; Helling, 1998); a survey of opportunities for public deliberation in the United States by Williamson and Fung (2004) found that even most

open town meetings can exclude those who are poor or not educated, and instead attract people in the middle range of socioeconomic indicators.

Burby (2003) believes that citizen involvement in plan making tends to be dominated by an “iron triangle” of local business and development interests, local elected and appointed officials, and neighborhood groups. Verba, Schlozman, Brady & Nie (1993) conclude that those who are active in public decision making processes are unrepresentative of the latent public “in ways that are of great political significance.” In other words, they argue, “it does matter who participates” (Verba et al., 1993, p.314). Unrepresentativeness of many participatory processes not only skews the public input but also does not inform decision makers of the real issues that are of concern to communities (Kweit & Kweit, 1987). Inadequate citizen participation can therefore lead to private interest groups taking control over the process and imposing their decisions.

Insuring appropriate representation involves more than making sure diverse stakeholders are invited to participate (Lowry, Adler & Milner, 1997). It involves making moral and ethical decisions when it comes to ensuring resident representation. Beatley, Brower & Lucy (1994) note that planners usually choose between the following alternatives when it comes to making decision about desired representation: (1) ensuring descriptive representation – the degree to which participants are descriptively similar to the broader population; (2) ensuring opinion representation – the degree to which participant opinions are similar to the those of the broader population, and (3) ensuring trustee representation – assuming that participants will apply independent judgment and act according to conscience, while at the same time acting upon the new information

gathered during deliberations. Reflecting on these alternatives, Beatley et al. (1994) ask: “should representatives act as delegates of a citizenry less informed that they are about the subjects at hand, or should they act as trustees on behalf of the civic good as they perceive it to emerge from the process of deliberation” (p.185)? The answer to this question should be made at a very early stage of the process as it might greatly define whether the planning process is going to be a true community based endeavor or another project driven effort aiming on producing decisions to the benefit of developers (adapted from Tauxe, 1995).

4. Participatory processes produce conflict rather than consensus.

In addition to running the risk of being unrepresentative, citizen participation has been criticized for its potential to produce conflict rather than consensus (Barber, 1984).

Quoting Schumpeter, the masses are bound to get out of control when they get together.

When too many people participate in decision making process that is not well organized, there is a possibility of extremism which can lead to conflicts and so called “policy gridlocks.” Considering inherently political nature of participatory planning and decision making (since it deals not only with technical issues but also with distributional and ethical issues) this only further intensifies the complexity of citizen participation (deSario & Langton, 1987; Fischer, 1993). In addition, as Forester (2006, p.448) points out, “planners’ good intentions do not erase citizens’ histories of distrust of public authorities and those who work for public agencies.” He continues to say that “when planners take their jobs, the successes and mistakes of their predecessors may still linger. Community members who say they have heard it all before often meet planners’ good intentions with

suspicion” (Forester, 2006, p.450). Therefore the role of planners is to convince the public that they are not on anyone’s side, and work towards building the spirit of trust and cooperation among stakeholders necessary for a successful participatory project. As Sandercock (1995) pointed out, the real challenge of citizen participation and democratic deliberation is not to avoid, transcend, or displace conflict, but to deal with the practical difference in and through conflictual settings (in Forester, 1999b).

In search for solutions, planning practice has embraced a theoretical framework of consensus decision making. Despite its seemingly straightforward nature, both the definition of consensus and its role in participatory processes have proven to be rather complex. To begin with, consensus building pursues two important goals: (1) to seek agreement of the participants, and (2) to mitigate the objections of the minority. As such, any consensus building effort accepts the reality of different values and conflicting interests while attempting to arbitrate those differences (Murray & Greer, 2002). As a rule, consensus builders/ mediators follow two paths: (1) using the majority rule, or (2) using a deliberative process of working through the differences. Susskind and Cruikshank (1987) define the latter process as a “good negotiated settlement” producing fair, efficient, wise, and stable decisions with the potential to “breed social learning” (p.247).

Consensus building process can follow a mode of “3D’s” – discussion, dialogue, or debate (Forester, 2007; Innes & Booher, 1999a; Yankelovich, 1999). In general, debates consist of an adversarial series of claims and refutations, counter-claims and counter-refutations with the purpose to win an argument (Forester, 2007; Yankelovich, 1999); discussions use exchange, analysis and criticism of ideas to arrive at a point of

view that is acceptable by the group (what Innes and Booher (1999a) call a “ping pong game”); and dialogues seek understanding of “where the others are coming from” with the aims on finding and developing a pool of shared meanings (Forester, 2007). The central objective of a dialogue is a transformative mutual learning (Friedmann, 1973; Innes & Booher, 1999a; Lowry et al., 1997) through the nurturing of trust and reciprocity (Murray & Greer, 2002).

Innes (1996), Innes (1998), Innes and Booher (1999a), and Innes and Booher (1999b) have examined subtleties and hidden reefs of several consensus building efforts in California. Findings of their studies suggest that while consensus building processes usually aim on producing what they call “tangible,” “implementable” outcomes, the most important outcomes may be less tangible. Among them – new relationships, partnerships, collaborative projects, new ideas and new practices (Innes & Booher, 1999a). In addition, consensus building efforts often produce such intangibles as social, intellectual and political capital (Gruber, 1994; Putnam, 1995). While personal differences might not get resolved, participants learn about each other and learn to appreciate other’s viewpoints. Inadvertently, collaborative efforts work as the glue to strengthen the civil society (Murray & Greer, 2002).

Along with success stories of consensus building and collaboration efforts, examples of failed nonparticipative planning models are abound (Burby, 2003; Burby & Dalton, 1994). With agenda set by technical experts, planning issues often run the risk of mobilizing latent public who “works to see that planners’ preferred policies are quashed” (Burby, 2003, p.34). Examples are readily available – among them locally unwanted

NIMBY/ WIMBY (“Not in my backyard”/ “Why in my backyard”), NOPE (“Not on planet Earth”), LULU (“Locally unwanted land use”), and BANANA (“Build absolutely nothing anywhere near anything”) citizen initiatives (Burby, 2003; Fischer, 1993; Freudenberg, 1984; Vajjhala, 2005). NIMBY, for example, refers to a situation in which people recognize the need for a particular type of development (e.g. hazardous facility) but object to having it located anywhere near them (Freudenberg, 1984). Fischer (1993) notes that being a “wicked problem,” public skepticism in a form of NIMBY represents public’s reaction to the undisputed dominance of expertise. Burby (2003) refers to these movements in order to illustrate the “political impotence of planners” and argues that planners can produce better plans if they succeed in involving a broad spectrum of stakeholders in the decision making process. However, this requires changes in citizen and administrator roles and relationships along with a shift towards more dynamic, dialogic, and deliberative processes (King et al., 1998). Day (1997) adds to this the importance of recognizing and accepting kinds of knowledge and expertise other than the scientific (Day, 1997). Respecting citizens as inherently knowledgeable will therefore lead to envisioning them as capable of making decisive judgments in the public interests (Stivers, 1990). Cannon (1977) correctly notes that although planners can not choose whether or not to have citizen participation, it is within their power to make it work and ensure that participation projects are not only meaningful and constructive, but also collaborative and dialogic.

5. Participatory processes are expensive and time consuming.

Most planners would have little trouble recognizing the above mentioned criticism of citizen participation processes. They would also agree that citizen participation is often viewed as the “Achilles heel of planning” in that planning needs citizen participation to be effective, yet the fear of participatory processes prevails (Almond & Verba, 1989; Benevise, 1989). deLeon (1992) further elaborates that even though citizen participation has been often prescribed as the “remedy” to address current inadequacies in decision making and planning, administrators are not aware of the strategies to ensure that citizenry is informed, involved, and process is functional. As a result, most planning agencies tend to see practices of citizen participation as an obstacle to be overcome in order to comply with existing state and/ or federal mandates (Julian, Reischl, Carrick & Katrenich, 1997). Mandates in their turn are increasingly being used to justify the deliberative effort invested in the process, even if such an effort did not exist (Lowry et al., 1997). Often what passes for citizen participation is what Selznick (1949) defines as “distorted communication” (in Stivers, 1990), or going through the motions with citizens seen by public officials as a “professional hazard” (Burby, 2003; Burby & Dalton, 1994). Administrators justify their position by pointing out that participatory processes are costly, time consuming, emotional, controversial, and conflictual. In practice, it has been noted that planners tend to follow the dominant ideology of administrative efficiency and representative governance that devalues the concept of citizen participation (Burby, 2003). Genuine and authentic participatory processes require power sharing and therefore pose a threat to the very existence of an administrative system (adapted from Brody et al.,

2003). King et al. (1998) views this as a paradox of the political system in the United States that is both designed to reflect and engender an active citizenry, while at the same time protecting administrative processes from overly active citizenry. With no value in participation, local administrative apparatus does not see the need to direct scarce resources towards participatory public planning and decision making. To comply with mandates, planners organize citizen advisory councils, citizen panels, public hearings, and carry out public surveys (Crosby, Kelly & Schaefer, 1986; Kathlene & Martin, 1991; King et al., 1998). As Williamson and Fung (2004) note, 97% of cities nationwide use public hearings as a strategy for involving citizens. At the same time these forms of citizen consultation do not provide for a genuine communication between the participants, and do not confer citizens any meaningful role in the process (Arnstein, 1969; Stiftel, 1983). Wang (2001) notes in a study of public participation in American cities that most of participatory techniques used by planners today are not authentic and genuine, and decisions are being made in administrative and not collaborative fashion.

This is not to say that it is all planners' fault. Even though as Healey and Hillier (1996) have pointed out, "the problems planners complain of are often of their own making," planners and decision makers are not always equipped with tools enabling them to effectively design and implement participatory initiatives. Innes and Booher (2004) add that legally required participation methods in the United States not only do not meet most basic goals for public participation, but they are also often counterproductive. First of all, mandates requiring public participation are more often than not minimum standards rather than maximums (Walters, Aydelotte & Miller, 2000); second, as Rosener

wrote in 1978, “unfortunately, those with responsibility for the design, implementation, and evaluation of mandated citizen-participation programs have been given little guidance. Most mandates are vague and ambiguous. Rarely do they contain hints as to what is expected. Standards by which participation should be measured are conspicuous by their absence. There is little consistency in the way participation is perceived, in the way participation programs are developed, in the way participation activities are carried out, and in the way participation evaluations are performed” (p.109).

Problems that planners face today are rather complex. On one hand, they can no longer not include the public in decision making (Thomas, 1995), while on the other hand, they do not have any guidelines, models, or frameworks to enable decision making competence and legitimacy through meaningful citizen participation (Renn, Webler & Wiedemann, 1995a). As a result, planners are often left with a limited number of options to deal with complex problems (Gray, 1989), among them: (1) an “ostrich approach;” (2) taking sides with one of the interested parties; (3) “hands off, let the experts decide,” or (4) a traditional approach involving holding public hearings. Since none of the above mentioned alternatives provides for authentic and meaningful citizen participation, communication and dialogue, planners resort to organizing *ad hoc* and appendage participation processes, to meet formal participation requirements (Lowry et al., 1997). As a rule these initiatives happen too late in the process, when the decision has already been made, and the public is invited to “vent off” their concerns and get informed about the future development. King et al. (1998) comment that the main problem with participation as it is currently practiced and framed is that it simply doesn’t work. In other

words, participation initiatives today are often inadequate and clumsy, and only further intensify environment of mutual distrust and hostility (Hibbard & Lurie, 2000; King et al., 1998; Leighninger, 2005). Healey and Hillier (1996) point out that authorities do not listen to local voices, and define traditional public discourses as being “carefully structured performances.”

Ultimately, all these arguments overlook the fact that the value of deliberation and citizen participation is in the actual participation (Pratchett, 1999). Even though community dialogues can seem both time consuming, impractical and frustrating for those who expect quick return on investment, they have a potential to turn the most frustrating stalemates into productive and useful conversations (Burkholder & Feustel, 2004). According to Williams, Penrose & Hawkes (1998), while public participation takes time and resources, the costs of involving the public in decisions can avoid the most significant costs of continued conflict and the need to change decisions that prove to be inadequately informed and unstable. Mair, Reid & George (2005) add that the emphasis of citizen participation should be made on building a shared vision for the community and creating networks to enhance trust and dialogue. Without meaningful and authentic multi-stakeholder dialogue it is not at all uncommon for individual citizens and community groups whose voices have not been heard by planners to initiate litigation processes, organize protests, and delay project implementations to ensure that process outcomes are quashed. This causes delays and incurs additional costs, causing planners and administrators complain about ineffectiveness of public processes. Creighton (2005) writes: “the real cost of a decision is not how long and how costly it is to reach the

decision, but how long it takes and how much it costs to solve the problem... by that measure, public participation is the winner” (p.244).

6. Citizens are apathetic of politics and public processes.

Practicing planners agree that plans or ordinances made without adequate citizen participation either fail to become implemented or are of poor quality, if adopted (Bordson, 2003). At the same time they complaint that citizens are often apathetic and not motivated to get engaged in participatory planning processes. To illustrate this argument, the most commonly practiced form of citizen consultation – public hearings – are often being criticized as “inconvenient, inhibiting, and intimidating” (Day, 1997), and failing to attract large number or a representative group of participants (Patton, 1987). This has several explanations. First, according to Knopman, Susman & Landy (1999), the more citizens acknowledge their own part in the problem, the more willing they are to become part of the solution. Leighninger (2005) adds that to mobilize citizens it is necessary to ensure that they feel they are a part of something larger than themselves. In case of tourism, Mair et al. (2005) point out that unless tourism has a major presence in a community, motivation for undertaking participatory tourism planning process is low. Second, reluctance to engage in participatory initiatives partly comes from the fact that there is either no clarity about citizen decision making power (Lowry et al., 1997), or little evidence citizen input is acted upon by policy makers (Kathlene & Martin, 1991). Renn et al. (1993) agree and add that a major problem of all citizen participation models today is legitimizing citizen recommendations. Even though public opinion is supposedly taken into account during public hearings, opinion surveys, and citizen committees, as

Healey and Hillier (1996) point out, these views are too often slotted into pre-existing agendas. Crewe (2001) illustrates this with an example of the Boston Southwest Corridor planning process where “citizen contributions made the project look as though it belonged in the neighborhood” (p.448). Third, with participation often limited to the final approval stages, there is no real potential for citizens to have an impact on project outcomes (Kweit & Kweit, 1987; Leighninger, 2005). Traditional public hearings are an excellent example of this argument. Lando (2003) characterizes them as lacking real information exchange, polarizing participants, and creating more cynicism rather than producing any positive results.

Quoting Giddens, the problem with respect to citizens’ knowledge is not that they do not understand government, but rather what they understand (in Stivers, 1990). Unfortunately, citizens today are distrustful of powerholders and see no reasons to invest time and efforts to engage in a process where their opinions will not be considered. This creates a challenge for administrators, planners, and citizens. It is the officials who decide what type of citizen participation method will be used, how much information will be provided, at what stage of the process citizen participation will be elicited, and what role citizen input will play in the final decision (Kathlene & Martin 1991, Koneya 1978). It is the planners who can shape “dialogic spaces” necessary for a meaningful and authentic participatory process (Forester, 1999b); together with citizens, planners and officials can transform their agencies in Athenian “polis” – “a public space in which human beings with different perspectives join together to decide what to do and to act together for the public good” (Stivers, 1990, p.96). Finally, it is citizens who must come to see

themselves as citizens (Kathlene & Martin, 1991). There are no active and passive players in this process, instead, pursuing the goals of alternative development, sustainability, democratic governance, and civil society has a place and role for everyone. As Davidoff and Reiner (1962) pointed out, “the right course of action is always a matter of (some people’s) choice, never of fact” (in Lauffer, 1987).

Chavis and Wandersman (1990) argued that we must look at any development as a process, and that community development is very similar to human development in that both are living or active systems. Healey and Hillier (1996) added that there is a great deal of delicate political work involved in building community cohesion. For Putnam (1993), civic community involves equality as well as public participation. For Friedmann (1992), these goals lead to an “alternative development” – development that incorporates inclusive democracy and rebalancing the structure of power in society. The role of planning in this development is in acknowledging the rights of citizens to decide upon the future of their communities, in working towards strengthening civil society, and in making authorities more accountable. To achieve this goal, modern planning needs a new framework of a planning as a social process based on a dialogue (Friedmann, 1973). This framework requires substantial departure from traditional planning practices towards new, more participatory and democratic forms of planning and decision making. It requires recognition that public is not homogenous, that there is no single clearly defined public interest, and that unlike in economic theory, shared interests are not a sum total of individual interests (Hendriks, 2002; Jackson & Morpeth, 1999; Ritchie & Jay, 1999). It requires a new redefined vision of leadership and responsible citizenship (Susskind &

Cruikshank, 1987), where participants of public processes are no longer enemies but rather colleagues working together towards a shared vision of the future (as Forester (1999b) noted, one plus one is more than two). It requires recognition that citizen input is and should be an important and integral component of planning and decision making (adapted from Kweit & Kweit, 1987). It also requires an effort on the side of planners to engage the public in the process from the early agenda setting, throughout the process, until project implementation, monitoring and evaluation (Helling, 1998; King et al., 1998). Finally, it requires pursuing a framework of a citizen-led process based on dialogue, communication and what Dahl (1992) called “empathic understanding,” or “putting oneself in the other’s shoes and sensing how the other sees, experiences, and interprets the world” (p.53). All these components are necessary prerequisites for the responsible exercise of citizenship which is learned as people discover new horizons and become aware of their rights as members of political communities (Freire, 1970, 1973).

To restate the problem, not all citizens are apathetic of politics and public processes. While it would be incorrect and perhaps naïve to assume that any democratic framework will achieve an ideal of permanent mobilization, not engaging the public is simply not an option. Quoting Leighninger (2005, p.24), “even though gathering public input is difficult, not gathering input is dangerous.” In addition, if the primary obligation of planner is to serve the public interest (according to the AICP Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct), who can better decide about the public interest if not the public itself? As practice shows, planners possess a number of strategies to engage the citizens in planning and decision making. Forester (1999b) illustrates some of the techniques used

today in participatory planning, among them – mind mapping, reframing the issue, joint education, role switching and role playing, small group meetings, field trips and tours, and visioning exercises. It is the time to bring these practices in a theoretical framework, to enable planners and decision makers to design genuine and authentic participatory processes. Before we turn to discussing one of the frameworks that holds a great potential to improve the planning practice, let us briefly place our understanding of citizen participation, and citizen participation in planning, in a historical perspective.

Conceptualizing Citizen Participation in Planning

Citizen participation is an inherent part of the democratic form of governance. Similar to democracy, public participation is not a new concept bound to North American context. As Dietz (1995) writes, “democracy is an ancient mode of societal decision making that has its roots in the fundamental elements of human adaptation – communication and social learning” (p.xvii). As a rule, roots of public participation are traced back to Aristotle’s (384 BC-322 BC) theory of citizenship (Dietz, 1995; Miller, 1998- 2002). Aristotle viewed citizens as persons who had the right to participate in deliberative or judicial affairs, in addition to being directly involved in governance (other aspects of citizenship will not be discussed here but it is worthwhile noting that in Athens of that time women, slaves, foreigners, and some others were not considered citizens hence they were excluded from participating in assemblies, councils, juries etc.). Citizens in ancient Greece were seen not as consumers or beneficiaries of administrative state, but rather as active participants in a governance of “polis.” The practice of active citizenship was therefore not only instrumental for achieving broader goals but also had an intrinsic

value in itself and was viewed as a source of “good” and “virtuous” life. The purpose of the state was to establish the necessary conditions for this practice to be exercised (Miller, 1998-2002; Stivers, 1990).

The inherent goodness of participatory decision making remains one of the most popular arguments in support of civic engagement in planning and decision making. Among others Rousseau (1762), Madison (1788), Calhoun (1853), Mill (1873), deTocqueville (1835/1840), and Cole (1920) had extensively written on public participation (for a detailed discussion of their arguments see Dahl (1956) and Pateman (1970). While Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) envisioned decision making where no organized groups were present, just individuals, because the former might be able to make their “particular will” prevail, John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) supported the “government by discussion,” while at the same time emphasizing that it is at the local level where the real educative effects of participation occur, because it is at the local level that the issues that affect the individual happen most directly (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004; Pateman, 1970). Both Rousseau and Mill spoke of the promise of public participation to stimulate citizens’ moral and intellectual growth (Webler & Renn, 1995). More recently discussions of citizen participation has involved arguments of citizen participation having value in its own right (Arendt, 1963; Barber, 1984), as a force to bring about power equalization (Fagence, 1977), as an affirmation of democracy (Barber, 1981; Williams, 1976), helping individuals to fully realize their potential as humans (Arai, 1996; Kweit & Kweit, 1987; Warren, 1992), and breeding a virtuous circle of participation breeding participation (Oldfield, 1990). Hibbard and Lurie (2000) have

added that through participatory processes people get to think of themselves as citizens with responsibility for the greater collective good, not merely as taxpayers and service recipients – what Boyte and Kari (1996) defined “deliberative citizenship.” In addition, citizen participation has been viewed as helping communities develop social networks, norms of trust and reciprocity that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit – or “social capital,” according to Putnam (1995), Putnam, Feldstein and Cohen (2003), and Putnam, Leonardi and Nanetti (1993). Not only can social capital enhance community’s ability to work through differences and therefore greatly facilitate citizen participation (Hibbard & Lurie, 2000), but also citizen participation can arguably lead to more effective governance and therefore strengthen social capital (Putnam, 1993). As such, both breed and feed off each other, mutually reinforcing more just and equal form of democracy. The ideal combination of the two is in the civil society, which is at the same time the fullest expression of participatory democracy (Lowry et al., 1997).

Two other common themes in support of citizen participation are its potential to foster a more democratic society, and its positive contribution to planning (Day, 1997). Decentralized decision making not only brings bureaucracy closer to the people it serves, but also provides an opportunity for meaningful multi-stakeholder dialogue. Unlike bureaucracy that has no place for citizen participation, democratic tradition of decision making is based on the assumption that those affected by the decision have the right to participate in crafting that decision (Kweit & Kweit, 1987). Krislov and Rosenbloom (1981) note that non-participatory forms of governance are weak because they are unstable and do not represent their citizenry. On the other hand, inclusive and

participatory forms of governance have a known potential to foster civic communities and bring about sustainable development. Quoting Renn et al. (1993), public participation is a normative prerequisite of democracy.

Citizen involvement in planning and decision making is often viewed as the natural expression of the sense of community (Davidson & Cotter, 1989; Putnam, 1993; Putnam et al., 1999, 2003), and it has been noted that the two are directly associated (Davidson & Cotter, 1989). As Julian et al. (1997) pointed out, not only sense of community leads to participation, but participation leads to sense of community. In addition, on a national level the level of citizen participation has become a litmus test for the health of local democracy and effectiveness of the governance (Wilson, 1999). On the local level it has been noted that cities which institutionalize neighborhood participation in policy processes generate more informed, efficacious, and participative citizenry (Berry, Portney & Thomson, 1993 in Kirlin, 1996). Besides, civic engagement is increasingly being viewed as an integral part of sustainability efforts (Portney, 2005). As communities get involved in public processes, planners get access to local knowledge, secure feedback regarding policy and programs, and ensure the likelihood of serving a public interest (Barber, 1981; Burke, 1979; Day, 1997).

Roots of citizen participation in plan making can be traced back to the early twentieth century. First appearing during the institutionalized city and regional planning period, citizen participation in planning was initially mandated in the 1954 *Urban Renewal Act*. Further expansion of the mandate occurred in sixties starting with Michael Harrington's (1959-1962) call to action on poverty crisis, through the presidency of

Lyndon Johnson, the *War on Poverty*, the *Economic Opportunity Act* (EOA) of 1964, and *Community Action Agencies* (Brody et al., 2003; Day, 1997; Filner, 2001; Rohe & Gates, 1985). The *Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act* of 1966 (more commonly known as *Model Cities*) had attempted to combine the goals of urban renewal with the social goals of the *War on Poverty*, but only mandated citizen participation in order to avoid the conflict engendered by the EOA (Day, 1997). Participation under the federal mandate included one open hearing before the final adoption of the project, and community was invited to vote “Yes” or “No” at the hearing. The vote however did not carry any legal weight, and was merely what Dahl (1961) calls a “public ritual” (in Koneya, 1978). Administration was mandated to seek “maximum feasible participation” mainly to legitimize social programs, not to engage citizens in authentic and meaningful planning and decision making process. Despite its noble intentions, the “maximum feasible participation” appeared to resemble “maximum feasible misunderstanding” (Moynihan, 1969) or “maximum feasible manipulation” (Arnstein, 1972), and not a genuine attempt to share power with citizens. Writing about the *Model Cities* program in Pennsylvania, Sherri Arnstein (1972) noted that it was “first and foremost a politician’s game” (p.387). Criticism of the “maximum feasible participation” efforts reflected the broad disillusionment with the promises of Lyndon Johnson’s Great Society that had been seeping through all aspects of civic life. As a result the 1970s no longer emphasized “maximum feasible” or “widespread” participation but rather spoke of “providing an opportunity,” “encouragement of participation... as it deems advisable” (Day, 1997).

Despite its failure to achieve genuine results, the idea of citizen participation in planning and decision making had not disappeared. In 1970s citizen participation mandates were added to the *Coastal Zone Management Act* and the *Energy Reorganization Act*, and the first environmental groups further advocated its use. Today many states mandate citizen participation in comprehensive and growth management planning with the belief that public participation will inevitably increase local government's commitment to the principles of democratic governance including the rights of individuals to be informed, to be consulted, and to have the opportunity to express their views on governmental decisions (Brody et al., 2003). The general attitude to existing mandates has been twofold. On one hand, there is an agreement that planners can produce better plans and secure plan implementation if they succeed in involving a wide range of stakeholders. At the same time existing mandates are vague, outdated and not specific, and existing planning practices resemble a mere "window dressing" (Berke & French, 1994; Berke et al., 1996; Brody et al., 2003; Burby, 2003; Burby & Dalton, 1994). Not only have state mandates failed to provide guidance to planners in how to organize effective citizen participation programs, planners themselves have often ignored public input. In any case, studies of mandates requiring public participation in planning and decision making clearly indicate that states with planning mandates usually produce higher quality plans (Berke & French, 1994), even when existing state participation requirements are obsolete (Brody et al., 2003). They also suggest that given an opportunity to genuinely have an impact, citizens are more likely to participate in the

planning process, but only if the process is being perceived as meaningful (Innes & Booher, 2004).

Genuine and meaningful public participation can generate trust, secure public commitment to project implementation, and strengthen social capital. In other words, the chances of producing “plans that matter” increase with increased participation (Burby, 2003). At the same time planners are reminded that more participation is not the same thing as more democracy. As Wilson (1999) notes, “participation and democracy are inextricably and conceptually linked but the relationship is far more complex than might be implied by a simple equation between greater participation and greater democracy” (p.258). To assist planners in their efforts to design genuine and authentic participatory processes, a framework is needed that would address complexities of the modern planning problems. As Friedmann wrote in 1959, the problem of planning has become a problem of procedure and method. Arnstein (1975) added that planning lacks criteria to assess meaningful participation processes. Fagence (1977) added that “there is a patent need for the spectrum of usable and useful techniques of involving the public, and of rendering an impact on the decision making process, to be significantly extended” (p.10). Forester (1999b) noted after interviews with practicing planners that they tended to raise issues of process design that have not been adequately addressed in the planning literature. Today this need is even more pressing than before, and it is felt in different fields of planning including urban and regional planning, environmental planning, and tourism planning. The section that follows will examine participatory planning models that have been developed up to date.

Participatory Planning Practices and Models

There is a critical difference between going through the empty ritual of participation and having the real power needed to affect the outcome of the process (Arnstein, 1969, p.216).

As it was noted previously, citizen participation in planning has been conceptualized in different ways. One of the most illustrative examples of the degree to which genuine citizen participation occurs in planning and decision making is Sherri Arnstein's (1969) famous ladder of citizen participation (see Figure 3). An analogy of a ladder enables to visualize the range of participatory processes which can take form of nonparticipation, tokenism, and citizen power. More specifically, Arnstein (1969) placed manipulation and therapy on the bottom rungs of the ladder, describing them as practices of "nonparticipation" used to "educate" or "cure" the participants. Rungs 3, 4 and 5 were labeled as informing, consultation and placation, accordingly. The most widely used method of citizen "consultation" today – public hearings – was considered by Arnstein (1969) as tokenistic, conferring little real power to participants. Referring to public hearings, she wrote: "people are primarily perceived as statistical abstractions, and participation is measured by how many come to meetings, take brochures home, or answer a questionnaire. What citizens achieve in all this activity is that they have "participated in participation." And what powerholders achieve is the evidence that they have gone through the required motions of involving "those people" (Arnstein, 1969, p.219).

Indeed, Arnstein continued, citizens' voice may be heard during these practices, but it is very unlikely that it will be listened to. Finally, on top of the ladder she placed partnership, delegated power, and citizen control as higher degrees of citizen power. Fagence (1977) argued that Arnstein deliberately devised her model in a provocative manner to encourage a conversation on the purpose and practice of citizen participation. Through the ladder of citizen participation she was sending a message about the need of the redistribution of power, sharing responsibilities and empowering the "nobodies." Citizen control for Arnstein (1969) was what "liberation planning" was for Kravitz (1970) – including decentralization and democratization of authority, equalization of power, and transformation of the planning process into planning by citizens with the planners playing a catalyst role.

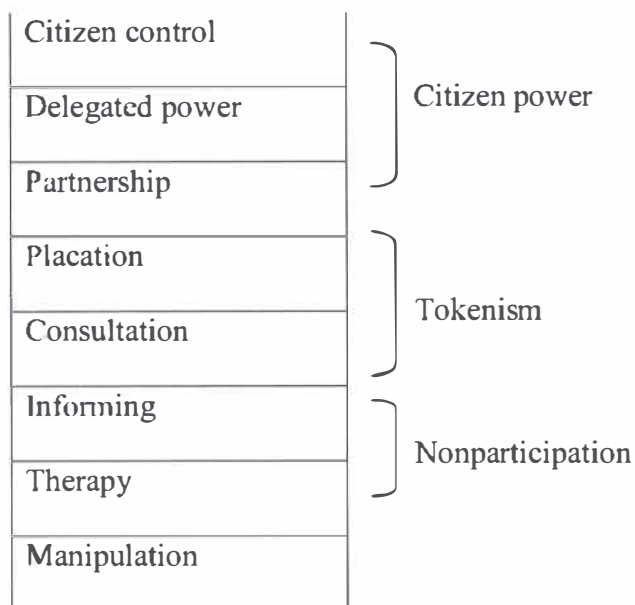


Figure 3. Eight rungs on a ladder of citizen participation.

Source: Arnstein, 1969.

Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation was clearly a simplified version of the gradation of citizen participation. Nevertheless, it sent a powerful message that meaningful participation in planning can bring about citizen empowerment. The message of citizen empowerment runs through two other models that should be mentioned here – a hierarchy of individual political involvement developed by Milbrath (1965), and a ladder of citizen empowerment developed by Rocha (1997). An extension of Arnstein's ladder can be found in Eidsvik (1978) who developed a grid to help planners evaluate different forms of participation (see Figure 4). Similar to a ladder of citizen participation, Eidsvik (1978) differentiates between citizens being “fed” information, persuaded about decisions, consulted, included in the process as partners, and ultimately taking control over decision making (Parenteau, 1988).

Decision-making power				
Information	Persuasion	Consultation	Cooperation	Control
The decision is made and the public is informed	The decision is made and an effort is made to convince the public	The problem is submitted, opinions are collected, the decision is made	The limits are defined, the decision is shared with and made together with the public	The decision is made by public, which assumes a role of public responsibility
Public participation				

Figure 4. An evaluation grid for different forms of participation.

Source: Parenteau, 1988 (original from Eidsvik, 1978).

Another way of conceptualizing citizen participation in planning was designed by Friedmann (1973, 1987, 1992). His *Planning in the Public Domain* is still being widely regarded as one of the most influential works on transactive planning and societal transformation. Similar to Arnstein (1969), Friedmann (1987) believes that transactive planning begins with the possibilities of emancipation (in Hibbard & Lane, 2005). Advocating the need for societal transformation, Friedmann (1973-1992) envisioned planning as a process of mutual learning, carried out by decentralized institutions, incorporating face-to-face contacts of planners and the public, with participation and empowerment as goals rather than methods (Lane, 2005). In addition, he emphasized the importance of planning as social learning through collective action, centered in the community (Friedmann, 1992). He called for a shift in planning practice to include dialogue and communication in response to the widening gulf between planners and the public (Friedmann, 1973).

Friedmann (1987) distinguished between two competing planning traditions – societal guidance and societal transformation. Within these two approaches he outlined six theories/ frameworks that planners use depending on the nature of the problem to be addressed. Similar to Arnstein's (1969) model, these theories can be rank ordered by a degree of citizen participation and citizen power. On the bottom Friedmann (1987) placed social reform and policy analysis – each relying heavily on technical expertise, grounding their decisions in scientific rationality, and carried out using traditional “top-down” planning approach. While social reform usually takes the form of “collect and analyze data – develop the plan – implement the plan,” policy analysis can be viewed as a

variation of social reform that incorporates systems theory with management and political science. Both theories do not include citizen participation at any part of the process.

Unlike social reform and policy analysis, social learning theory shifts the focus on technical expertise within scientific rationality, to collectively constructed knowledge and therefore implies improved understanding of the planning problem (May, 1992). Reid (2003) pointed out that Friedmann's theory of social learning alludes to Freirian (1970, 1973) framework of problem-centered learning and therefore legitimizes both scientific and personal knowledge in decision making process. It finds its practical application in the framework of social mobilization (Arnstein's (1969) rungs of partnership and delegated power). Finally, Friedmann (1987) speaks of radical planning as a process that starts with identifying a preferred outcome and then acting towards it. Similar to Arnstein's (1969) delegated and citizen power, radical planning focuses on empowerment through collective planning and decision making.

Lane (2005) summarized the main planning theories and the role they allocate to citizen participation by placing Arnstein's (1969) ladder of citizen participation alongside Friedmann's (1987) planning traditions and Hall's (1992) major planning schools, and exemplified each with a respective planning model (see Table 1). For citizen participation in planning to be accurately interpreted, he argued, it had to be placed in the broader decision making context (planning tradition) in which it is embedded.

Table 1.

Conception of planning and the role for public participation.

Level of participation (Arnstein, 1969)	Planning tradition (Friedmann, 1987)	Planning school (Hall, 1992)	Planning model
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Citizen control ▪ Delegated power ▪ Partnership 	Societal transformation	Pluralism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Communicative ▪ Bargaining ▪ Marxist ▪ Advocacy ▪ Transactive
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Placation ▪ Consultation ▪ Informing 	Societal guidance	Synoptic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Mixed scanning ▪ Incrementalism ▪ Synoptic planning
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Therapy ▪ Manipulation 	Societal guidance	Blueprint	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Blueprint planning ▪ Geddes and Howard ▪ Precinct planning

Source: Lane, 2005.

Planning tradition here is defined by Lane (2005) as an approach to planning that has a single intellectual basis from which particular planning methods or models are derived, and planning models are defined as set of principles and assumptions that guide the planning practice. With regard to planning schools, Lane (2005) draws from Hall (1992) who outlined blueprint, synoptic, and pluralist planning as the main planning schools. Whereas blueprint planning is concerned with generating fixed end-state plans (Faludi, 1973), synoptic planning emphasizes quantitative analysis and prediction of the environment (Hudson, 1979), and only pluralistic planning recognizes reasonable differences and emphasizes citizen participation through communicative action and

dialogue. Lane (2005) notes that blueprint and synoptic planning fall in the trap of conceptualizing the public as unitary, therefore their calls for citizen participation do not go beyond consultative practices. In his review of planning theories and the role of citizen participation, Lane (2005) made an important comment – that it is the model of planning that ultimately defines the role of the public in the planning process, and that in order to evaluate any participatory initiative we first have to place it in the broader decision making context.

Similar to Lane (2005), Flora, Flora, Spears and Swanson (1992) explain the extent of citizen participation by the model of community development in place. Drawing on the work of Christenson (1989) who outlined three approaches to community development (see Table 2), they illustrate how the choice of the model facilitates community problem solving. With regard to public participation in planning and decision making, the self-help approach rests on premises of communities being homogenous and consensus based, the technical-assistance approach assumes that answers to community problems can be arrived at scientifically, and the conflict approach seeks redistribution of power (compare to Arnstein's [1969] citizen power). While the technical-assistance model places decision making power in the hands of experts, the self-help model requires citizen participation (usually engaged in by the middle class), and the conflict model calls to direct public action, placing the emphasis on the learning process and broadening horizons of its participants. Flora et al. (1992) argue that each model gives rise to a different community development strategy, therefore calling for a different degree of citizen participation.

Table 2.

Comparison of three models for community development.

	Self-help model	Assistance model	Conflict model
Change agent	Facilitator, educator	Advisor, consultant	Organizer, advocate
Task/ process orientation	Process	Task	Process and task
Typical clientele	Middle class	Leaders, administrators	Poor, minorities
Image of individual	Inherently good, but goodness is suppressed	System-defined player of roles	Oppressed
Basis of change	People can identify and solve problems collectively	Science provides a means to solve problems	Power is the most basic of all resources
Core problems addressed	Capacity of people to take collective action	Capacity to harness science to solve human problems	Concentration of power in the hands of a few persons
Action goal	Community capacity	Technical problem	Redistribution of power

Source: Flora et al. (1992), adapted from Christenson (1989).

This review of the main planning theories serves two purposes – to help conceptualize citizen participation in planning, and to help examine the roots of inadequacies of current planning practices. Practicing mainly within the dominant blueprint and synoptic planning schools and adopting the principles of societal guidance, planners have ensured a dominant position in their relation to the ordinary citizens. Using highly specialized technical language they only further reinforced their superiority through what Fischer (1993) called a “tyranny of expertise.” As Habermas (1975) and

Foucault (1966) noted, not only has the expert decision making served a control function, it has also been used to confer legitimacy to decisions that would have otherwise failed to generate consent in the democratic process of public deliberation. As a result, this culture of expertise and technical control came to dominate the current discourse (adapted from McCool & Stankey, 2003). At the same time the power of scientific rationality has not helped planners in solving complex “wicked problems,” and the typical consulting mode which was intended to let them “off the hook” from the public only further prompted the latent public to do whatever it takes to ensure that planner’s plans do not materialize (Burby, 2003). As King et al. (1998) noted, planners and administrators have simply forgotten that their role is not to govern but to manage. With the gap between the planning profession and the public increasing, planners got caught in what Kant called “Cyclopean thinking” (in Greek mythology Cyclops had only one eye and therefore a very narrow vision). This disconnect from the public and development of what Tosun (2006) called “clientilistic relationship” resulted in plans gathering dust on shelves while social conditions continued to worsen. Planners were failing their primary obligation of serving the public interest.

Planning thought responded to this with the call for more direct and democratic forms of planning. Planning theory repeatedly emphasized that the key to solving contemporary planning and policy problems lied in a collaborative inquiry with the public (Fischer, 1993). Planning practice, on the other hand, had a mixed response. While some planners refuted participatory planning practices as not legitimate, others embraced the new communicative planning forms (for one of the early examples of collaborative

planning practices in Cleveland, Ohio see Krumholz and Forester, 1990). In general, as Crewe (2001) noted, planners have not been against participation in principle, as long as they kept control over the process. It is this latter argument that appears to be problematic when it comes to designing authentic and meaningful participatory planning process. The role of planners in communicative planning should be the one of facilitators, educators and learners, not of ultimate decision makers. In a genuine dialogue decisions are made collaboratively and all participants share the same power as well as responsibility. Only under these circumstances can we speak of true collaboration as envisioned by Gray (1989), a process in which parties with a stake in the problem actively seek a mutually determined solution. In search for criteria of effectiveness of participatory planning models, Innes and Booher (2004) referred to collaboration, dialogue and interaction; Forester (2006) called for “mediated participation” which does not erase differences of worldview, values, or identity, but rather enables process participants to focus on real pressing issues, and Rohe and Gates (1986) spoke of neighborhood planning processes that are more responsive to local values and preferences.

King et al. (1998) have offered yet another answer to the question why current participatory efforts have failed to engender authentic and meaningful participation. The problem lies, they believe, in the way how issues/ problems are currently framed. According to King et al. (1998), public participation has four major components: (1) the issue (problem); (2) administrative structures, systems, and processes within which participation takes place; (3) administrators, and (4) citizens/ the public. Currently, most participation efforts are framed in a way that all these components are arrayed around the

issue with citizens placed at the greatest distance from the issue, administrative structures and processes being the closest, and administrators serving as agents between the structures and citizens. To shift the current practices towards more meaningful and authentic citizen participation, King et al. (1998) suggest reframing the issue by placing citizens next to the issue, and administrative structures and processes furthest away, with administrators still serving as agents between the two (see Figure 5). In this new context of what they defined as “authentic participation,” citizens are not only central and directly related to the issue, but also have an immediate and equal opportunity to influence the processes and outcomes.

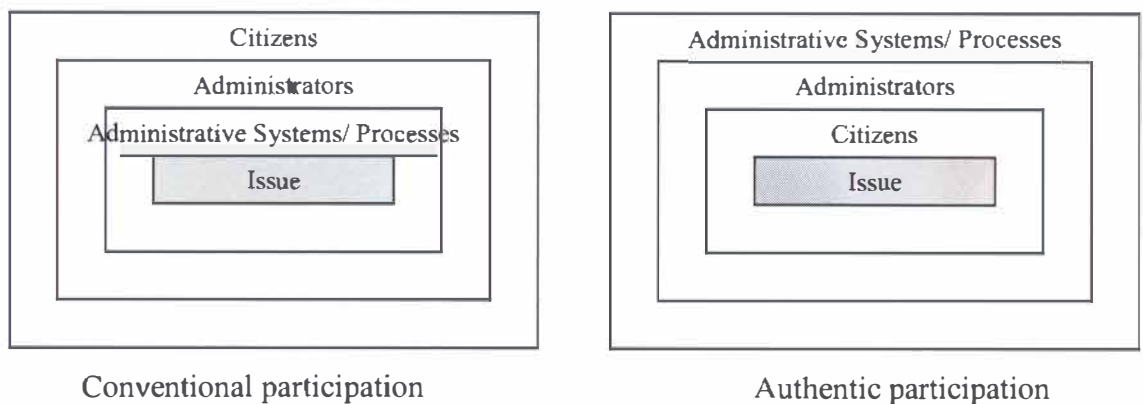


Figure 5. Contexts of conventional and authentic participation.

Source: King et al., 1998.

A fresh way to rethink traditional way of decision making has been offered by Connor (2001) under the name of “PEP model” of public participation. Unlike the traditional paternalistic mode of decision making which follows the sequence of: (1) deciding on a course of action; (2) educating the public to the planners’ way of thinking;

(3) announcing the decision to the public, and (4) defending the decision from the ensuing protests (abbreviated as the “DEAD model,” or sometimes referred to as the DAD “Decide-Announce-Defend”), the new suggested PEP model involves: 1) profiling the community or region in order to know the public; 2) educating the public about the issues and alternatives, and 3) participating with the public in a process of mutual education and joint problem solving (see Figure 6).

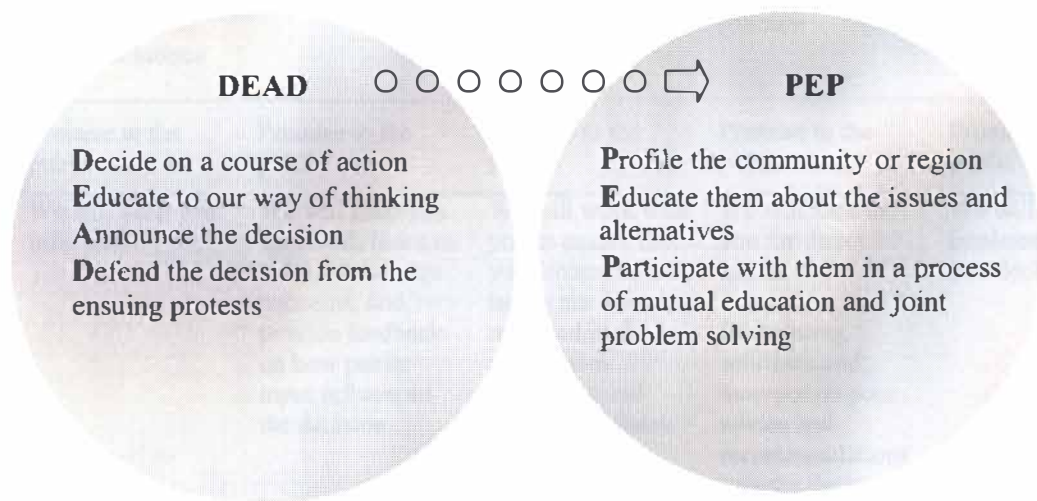


Figure 6. New participatory model of planning and decision making.

Source: Connor, 2001.

In a similar manner, the International Association for Public Participation (IAP2) has developed a “Public Participation Spectrum” representing a five-step ladder of community involvement in planning and decision making (see Figure 7).

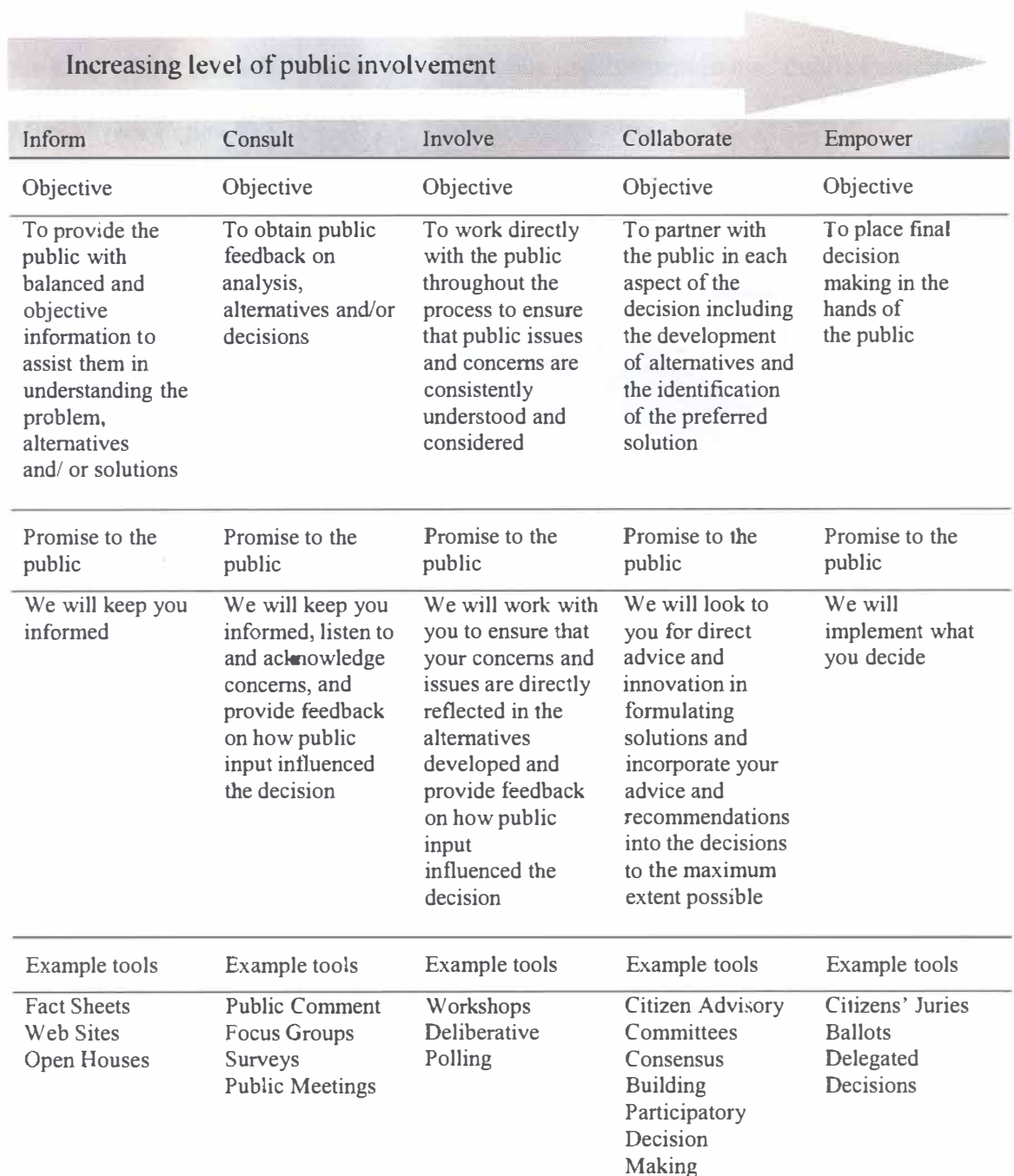


Figure 7. IAP2 public participation spectrum.

Source: International Association for Public Participation, n.d.a

Finally, Robinson (2002) illustrated how the complexity of the information and the level of risk can influence the level of public involvement in his “Public Participation Matrix” (see Figure 8).

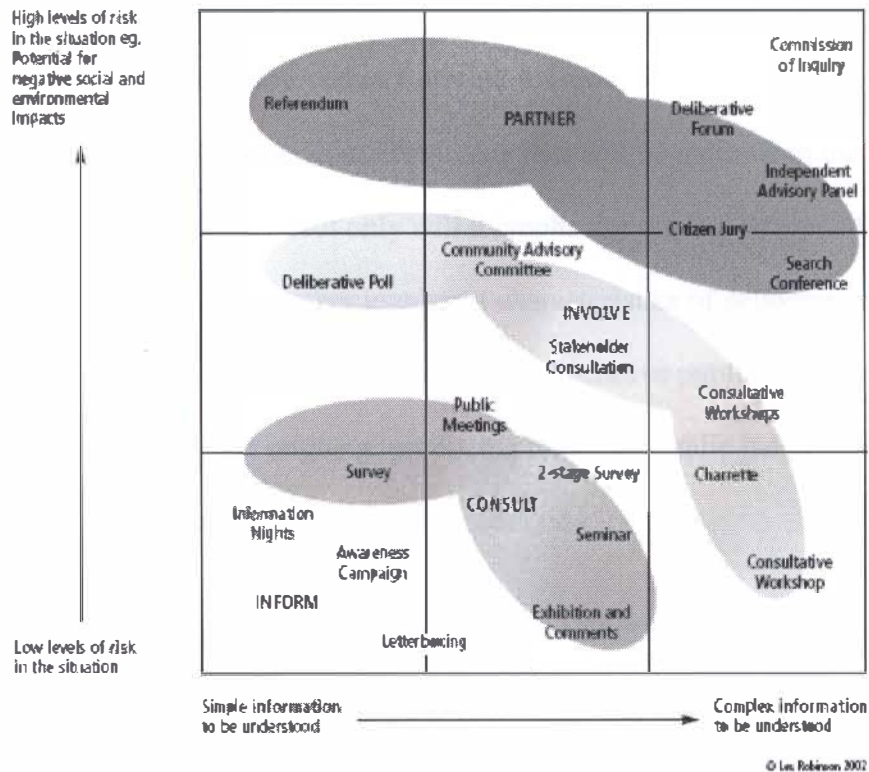


Figure 8. The public participation matrix.

Source: Robinson, 2002.

As previous examples illustrate, participatory planning models appeared in different contexts and under different names – of liberation planning (Kravitz, 1970), transactive planning (Friedmann, 1973-1992), communicative and collaborative planning (Forester, 1989, 1999a; Godschalk & Mills, 1966; Healey, 1992; Innes, 1995-1996),

pluralistic planning (Hall, 1992), organic planning (Plein et al., 1998), and discourse planning (Taylor, 1998), among others. While using different labels, they shared the common emphasis on dialogue and communication as a guide the planning practice. In this they have drawn their arguments from the work of the German sociologist and philosopher Jürgen Habermas whose theory of communicative action and the “ideal speech situation” have served as a ground for most of communicative planning theories. The framework of deliberative democracy that will be outlined in the section that follows is also not an exception. Not only will it emphasize the importance of dialogue and communication but also other important characteristics of deliberative participatory process such as broad, representative, and deliberative public participation that is inclusive, inviting and ongoing, producing informed public judgment and broad societal learning.

Establishing Framework for the Study: On Deliberative Democracy, Communicative Rationality, and Planning as Communicative Action

Democracy is not an alternative to other principles of associated life. It is the idea of community life itself... [It is] a name for a life of free and enriching communion (John Dewey).

The two preceding sections addressed existing inadequacies of traditional planning practices and emphasized the need to develop a new discursive framework of community tourism planning. The section that follows will take on the challenge of establishing such a framework and elaborating on how and why the proposed community tourism planning model based on the principles of deliberative democracy would enhance current tourism planning practices and help communities, planners and tourism

developers better deal with complex situations and tourism planning and/ or development problems. Forester (1999a) emphasizes the purpose of integrating planning theory with practice as being the one to assist “those who wish to develop deliberative and participatory approaches to planning to move more easily ahead, building on the strengths of the practitioners and dealing still more successfully with their weaknesses” (p.249).

Complexity of tourism planning and development projects, their vulnerability to the cultural, social, and economic differences of host communities and tourists, uncertainty of the future outcomes, the failure of traditional practices to deal with the intricate moral and ethical issues, as well as the need to make “moral choices and not just statistical calculations” call for broad, representative, inclusive and informed “nonexpert” involvement in community tourism planning and development (adapted from Durant, 2001). This new framework, in its turn, requires a solid theoretical ground on which the new normative model of public participation in tourism planning could be built (adapted from Webler, 1995). The framework of deliberative democracy and planning as communicative action is believed to offer the greatest potential in guiding the development of such a model. Not only does this framework offer a new way of engaging citizens in deciding upon the matters that directly affect their lives, but by doing so it fosters creation of livable communities characterized by community cohesion, existing norms of trust and reciprocity (social capital), civic engagement, and participatory governance. Ultimately, it shifts the dominant bureaucratic ideology with the roots in instrumental and objectivist rationality to more democratic form of governance with the

roots in what Habermas (1984-1996) calls “communicative rationality.” Emphasizing public involvement through communicative action, the theory of communicative rationality emphasizes the role of dialogue, communication and understanding, and therefore directly feeds into the promise of deliberative democracy. Potential for communicative rationality as ingrained in communicative action, finds its reflection in the framework of deliberative democratic planning and decision making.

On Deliberative Democracy

Democracy without citizen deliberation and participation is ultimately an empty and meaningless concept (Pimbert & Wakeford, 2001 in Creighton, 2005).

Quoting Bessette (1994), the lineage of deliberation is as old as the study of politics. Aristotle believed that processes of deliberation were essential to solve complex and unclear issues, and to ensure agreed upon guidance for the future actions. The process of deliberation, he argued, had to focus on the means to attend ends rather than on ends themselves (Mintrom, 2003). Decisions informed by deliberative processes of this kind were perceived not only legitimate but also more democratic (Ackerly, 2006; Saul, 1995). Quoting Saul (1995), democracy was about “inserting the citizen as citizen into the system in whatever way we can” (p.168).

A brief review of the history of deliberation thought brings back familiar names – from Aristotle (384 BC-322 BC) and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) to John Dewey (1925, 1930, 1938, 1939), Joseph Bessette (1980, 1994), Jane Mansbridge (1980), Jürgen Habermas (1984, 1987, 1992, 1996), Bernard Manin (1987), Joshua Cohen (1989), John Forester (1989, 1993, 1999a, 1999b, 2006, 2007), John Dryzek (1990, 2000, 2002),

James Fishkin (1991, 1995, 2006), Daniel Yankelovich (1991, 1999), Seyla Benhabib (1992, 1996b), Edward Weeks (2000), John Rawls (1993), Anthony Giddens (1994), Iris Marion Young (1996, 2000, 2001), Amy Gutmann and Dennis Thompson (1996, 2004), Jon Elster (1998), and Peter Levine (2003). While Aristotle (384 BC-322 BC) differentiated the politics from the practical reason/ practical wisdom (“praxis” from “phronesis”), with the practical reason being grounded in the collective life and involving persuasion, reflection upon values, prudential judgment, and free disclosure of ideas, Rousseau (1712-1778) emphasized that deliberation should involve equal participation of all citizens. However, it was not until the 1980 that the actual term “deliberative democracy” was coined by Joseph Bessette in *Deliberative democracy: the majority principle in republican government*. In his essay, Bessette (1980, p.104) spoke of a democracy where “the people actually meet together and take binding political decisions on the most important matters facing the state.” Since then, the discussion revolved around the place of deliberative democracy in a democratic theory, its value, status, aims, and scope of deliberation (Gutmann & Thompson, 1996). Even though different theorists envisioned the ideal of deliberative democracy in their own unique way, ideas of creative democracy (Dewey, 1939), unitary democracy (Mansbridge, 1980), strong democracy (Barber, 1984), discursive democracy (Dryzek, 1990, 2000), liberal democracy (Miller, 1992), communicative democracy (Young, 1996), and collaborative democracy (Collaborative Democracy Network, 2005) shared an emphasis on eliciting broad public participation in a process which would provide citizens an opportunity to consider the

issues, weigh alternatives, and express a judgment about the preferred course of action (Weeks, 2000).

Deliberative democracy has often been referred to as a transformative process of social learning (Chrislip, 2002; Farrelly, 2004; Forester, 1999a). The process of deliberation therefore feeds upon two main theories of learning – reflective pragmatism of John Dewey (1930), and relationships of knowledge and power of Paulo Freire (1970, 1985; Forester, 1999a). This emphasis on learning distinctly differentiates deliberative democracy from other democratic forms of governance, and explains the raising interest in deliberative practices, born out of frustration with adversarial politics (Karpowitz & Mansbridge, 2005). Unlike an aggregative form of democracy which aggregates public preferences and opinions through a majoritarian voting mechanism, deliberative democracy asks for justification, requires that we listen to others' concerns, and opens a public discussion leading to an agreed collective judgment (*AmericaSpeaks*, 2004; Farrelly, 2004; Gutmann & Thompson, 1996; Miller, 1992). Unlike aggregative governance, deliberative democratic governance emphasizes active citizen participation, sustained periods of deliberation, use of and reliance on networks of organizations, collaboration among private, public, and nonprofit organizations, focus on civic learning, efforts to empower individuals, and efforts to foster individual exercise of voice (Collaborative Democracy Network, 2005). It recognizes the tension between the "collective will" and the "will of all," and by doing so differentiates mere agreement from the rational consensus (Mouffe, 1999). It also recognizes that deliberation is not a perfect way to deal with the problem of moral disagreement, and that it is unrealistic to

assume that every deliberative initiative would result in unanimous agreement, and by doing so shifts the emphasis from the way of deciding and governing to the way how a society works and lives (Ackerly, 2006; Gutmann & Thompson, 1996; Miller, 1992). Through ongoing and repeated deliberations citizens may come to better understand their personal and community values, and learn to express opinions that are more in line with these values, while simultaneously running the risk of changing their values and beliefs as a result of these very deliberations (Gutmann & Thompson, 1996; Pelletier, Kraak, McCullum, Uusitalo & Rich, 1999). In addition, ongoing deliberations combined with active engagement with the issues of importance to community may increase the commitment to action and develop and strengthen community's social capital (Stein et al., 2004). Social capital here refers to social connectedness, interactions and networks in which members of a community develop norms for collective action through mutual support for accomplishing goals that enhance community life (Putnam & Goss, 2002). Niemelä (2003) describes social capital as the ability of citizens to cooperate, to use resources, to create networks, to become engaged with each other, and to take responsibility for the issues affecting the community (in a similar manner, Flora et al. [1992] refer to the ability of a group of people to solve common problems together as the idea of *collective agency*). While networks and interactions form community resources, social capital also includes individual resources such as trust, increased personal competence, or developing one's voice (Balatti & Falk, 2002). By strengthening social capital, deliberative democracy achieves its goal of revitalizing civic culture, improving the nature of public discourse, and generating the political will necessary to take effective

action on pressing problems (Weeks, 2000). Hartz-Karp (2005) believes that an increase in intellectual, social and political capital is the critical measure of deliberation. She therefore alludes to Dewey's argument of the need to increase the vitality of the civic culture including public spiritedness, political efficacy, sense of duty and tolerance (Gastil & Keith, 2005).

The literature broadly outlines the following main purposes of deliberative democracy: promoting legitimacy of decisions, encouraging public perspective on public issues, promoting mutually respectful process of decision making, and helping correct mistakes that could be made by citizens and officials. Friedman (2006) further elaborated that deliberative public engagement at a community level helps strengthen communities, develops capable citizens, lays a foundation for richer democratic expectations, and enables scaling up of public engagement beyond the community level. Gutmann and Thompson (2004) list the following as requirements of deliberative democracy: to produce justifiable and binding decisions and express the value of mutual respect, to engage in an ongoing dialogue, and to ensure that the process is dynamic, open and accessible to all (unlike democracy envisioned by Rousseau with citizens reflecting on their own and then voting on the issue). In a similar manner, Hartz-Karp (2005) outlines the following prerequisite "building blocks" for successful deliberations: participants are representative of the population, a focus on thoroughly understanding the issues and their implications, serious consideration of differing viewpoints and values, a search for consensus or common ground, and the capacity to influence policy and decision-making.

These characteristics have been collapsed in the following five rationales for public deliberation (Lukensmeyer & Torres, 2003; Torres et al., 2004): (1) instrumental (citizen participation in planning and decision making can reduce conflict); (2) substantive (citizen participation can lead to better, longer lasting, and wiser decisions); (3) civics rationale (citizen participation builds citizen competence and personal empowerment); (4) social capital rationale (citizen participation cultivates mutual understanding, and build bonds of trust among citizens, decision makers and governing institutions), and (5) normative (citizen involvement in planning and decision making is something governments should do). Mintrom (2003) adds to this list gathering new information to improve the quality of decision, ensuring legitimacy of decisions in eyes of participants (as well as ensuring smooth implementation), personal development of participants, and regeneration of citizenship and an inclusive discourse on the public issues. These benefits feed into the view of deliberative democracy as a community dialogue focused on a reasoned discourse among citizens who come together as equals in a noncoercive environment to solve the public problems and decide on a preferred course of action (Collaborative Democracy Network, 2005; Weeks, 2000). According to Habermas (1984), for a public sphere to operate in a democratic fashion, not only the number of participants is critical but also quality of this discourse. Cohen (1996) specifically notes that deliberative processes should ensure equality, pluralism, reasoned arguments, willingness to cooperate, and authoritative results. Young (1996) adds that deliberations should be open to group differences, with communication beyond that of arguments construed in a culturally biased way – what she calls “communicative

democracy.” Summarizing these viewpoints, Weeks (2000) have noted that to be worthy of the label democratic, a deliberative process should satisfy the following conditions: (1) broad and representative public participation; (2) informed public judgment; (3) deliberative public participation, and (4) credible results.

Inclusion is believed to be one of the thorniest of issues facing deliberative democracy today (Ryfe, 2002). Sanders (1997) defines inclusion as ensuring that those who are usually left out of the public discussion learn to speak, and those who usually dominate learn to listen and hear the perspective of others. Young (2000) speaks of the crucial importance of inclusion of the major interests, opinions, and social perspectives (in Fung, 2004). In a similar manner, Ackerly (2006) links deliberative democratic processes to reflective democracy and critical theory, and calls for them to ensure that those who will be directly affected by decisions are included in the process. Fishkin et al. (2004) shifts the emphasis to the importance of information in helping the public reach thoughtful and stable public judgment. Miller (1992) envisions deliberative processes that encourage people not merely to express their political opinions (through opinion polls, referendums and the like), but to form those opinions through debate in public settings. Both argue that top of the mind (raw) opinions are not only highly unstable but can also be very misleading if people have not made up their minds (Fishkin et al., 2004). However as the public becomes better informed, judgments can be formed, decisions improved, and unresolved issues settled – ensuring what Weeks (2000) calls “deliberative public participation,” or reflective judgment. Finally, for a process to be considered legitimate it must be methodologically sound (Weeks, 2000). Habermas (1984, 1987)

sees the fundamental source of legitimacy in the collective judgment of the people; Benhabib (1996b) links it to the free and unconstrained public deliberation of all about matters of common concern; and *AmericaSpeaks* (2004) connects legitimacy of the process to sustained public involvement.

The four criteria of deliberative democratic processes put forward by Weeks (2000) combine the views from the broad range of deliberative democrats, but at the same time leave aside some of the controversial and widely debatable issues, among them – the need to ensure that the public exercises final control over the agenda (Dahl, 1998), and capacity of the public to influence policy and decision making (Carson & Hartz-Karp, 2005). The subtle differences in views and interpretations of public deliberation and deliberative democracy are best illustrated with the range of their definitions. What follows is a listing of the most widely used definitions of deliberation and deliberative democracy today.

Definitions of deliberation:

- Deliberation is an approach to decision-making in which citizens consider relevant facts from multiple points of view, converse with one another to think critically about options before them and enlarge their perspectives, opinions, and understandings (Deliberative Democracy Consortium, n.d.; also adopted by *AmericaSpeaks*, 2004).
- To engage in the deliberative process is to seek a consensus and persuade your opponents by argumentation, not force or coercion (Habermas, 1984).

- Deliberation is a commonplace word, used most often to describe the process used by juries, councils, legislatures, and other bodies that make decisions after a period of reasoned discussion (Gastil & Keith, 2005).

Definitions of deliberative democracy:

- Deliberative democracy is a framework for governance in which citizens work with one another, through dialogue, to come to a judgment about the best course of action on a given public problem (*AmericaSpeaks*, 2004),
- Deliberative and participatory governance refers to infusing legitimate government decision making with the reasoned discussion and collective judgment of citizens. These processes have also been termed collaborative democracy and collaborative governance (Collaborative Democracy Network),
- Deliberative democracy strengthens citizen voices in governance by including people of all races, classes, ages and geographies in deliberations that directly affect public decisions. As a result, citizens influence – and can see the result of their influence on – the policy and resource decisions that impact their daily lives and their future (Deliberative Democracy Consortium, n.d.),
- In a deliberative democracy citizens can decide through discourse what laws and policies they ought to pursue (Cohen, 1989),
- Deliberative democracy is a system of popular government that fosters rule by the informed and reasoned judgments of the citizenry, by what Madison (1788) called “the cool and deliberate sense of the community” (Bessette, 1994),

- Deliberative democracy is fair and open community deliberation about the merits of competing political arguments (Uhr, 1998),
- Deliberative democracy is an informed participation by citizens in the deliberative process of community decision making (Weeks, 2000),
- Deliberative democracy is a form of government in which free and equal citizens (and their representatives) justify decisions in a process in which they give one another reasons that are mutually acceptable and generally accessible, with the aim of reaching conclusions that are binding in the present on all citizens but open to challenge in the future (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004), and
- Deliberative democracy can only thrive in the context of dynamic, contestatory pluralism of dissenting voices which enriches public deliberation by exposing hegemonic orthodoxies to challenge both from within and without (McBride, 2005).

Examples of deliberative democratic practices are readily available. They range in scale, complexity of the issues addressed, range of participants, and tools of deliberation. Rowe and Frewer (2005) provide a comprehensive listing of deliberative public engagement mechanisms – from action planning to consensus building, public hearings, roundtables, visioning exercises, and workshops. Some of the most visible examples of deliberative efforts include the following (in alphabetical order) (Goldman & Torres, 2004;

Lukensmeyer & Brigham, 2002, 2005; Rowe & Frewer, 2005):

- *AmericaSpeaks* <http://www.americaspeaks.org>,
- Center for Deliberative Democracy <http://cdd.stanford.edu>,

- CitizenSovereignty.org <http://www.citizensovereignty.org>,
- Deliberative Democracy Consortium <http://www.deliberative-democracy.net>,
- e-thePeople.org <http://www.e-thepeople.org>,
- Information Renaissance <http://www.info-ren.org>,
- Institute for Public Policy Research <http://www.ippr.org.uk>,
- Jefferson Center <http://www.jefferson-center.org>,
- Kettering Foundation <http://www.kettering.org>,
- Meetup.com <http://www.meetup.com>,
- MoveOn.org <http://www.moveon.org>,
- National Charrette Institute <http://www.charretteinstitute.org>,
- National Coalition for Dialogue and Deliberation <http://thataway.org>,
- National Issues Forums Institute <http://www.nifi.org>,
- Participation and Civic Engagement Group, Social Development Department
(The World Bank) <http://www.worldbank.org/participation>,
- Public Conversations Project <http://www.publicconversations.org>,
- Study Circles Resource Center <http://www.studycircles.org>,
- The Co-Intelligence Institute <http://www.co-intelligence.org>,
- The Pew Charitable Trusts <http://www.pewtrusts.com>,
- Viewpoint Learning <http://www.viewpointlearning.com>,
- W.K. Kellogg Foundation <http://www.wkkf.org>, and
- @Grass-Roots.org <http://www.grass-roots.org>.

While some of the above mentioned initiatives focus on the large scale initiatives in public deliberation (e.g. *AmericaSpeaks*), others – among them study circles, local issue forums, citizens juries, consensus conferences, and deliberative polling – emphasize small scale face-to-face models of deliberation (Fishkin, 2006; Lukensmeyer & Brigham, 2005; Torres et al., 2004). Despite their differences, they all emphasize what McCoy and Scully (2002) call “the marriage of deliberation and dialogue” to enable a “more holistic form of communication that acknowledges the importance of building community connections and of collective action and shared work” (p.120).

The literature characterizes ideal public deliberation as: (1) focused on action; (2) where arguments are based on appeals to values, (3) with participants not having any pre-existing commitments; (4) mutual in focus (not a negotiation of personal interests); (5) where information is not withheld; (6) occurring optimally in small groups, and (7) taking place within the provenance of a decision making authority (Lukensmeyer & Torres, 2003; Torres et al., 2004). Dryzek (2000) offered an improved view of deliberative democracy in what he called “discursive democracy” – a process he characterized as being pluralistic (embracing differences), reflexive (questioning established traditions), transnational (extending across boundaries), ecological (communicating with non-human nature), and dynamic (open to constraints and opportunities for democratization). Sunstein (2002) has referred to a “good democracy” that creates spaces in which otherwise silent people are willing to speak and likely to be heard. Both authors incorporate the characteristics of what Dewey called a “creative democracy” or a “way of personal life controlled not merely by faith in human nature in general but by faith in the

capacity of human beings for intelligent judgment and action if proper conditions are furnished" (Dewey, 1939, p.15). The task of democracy, according to Dewey (1939), was to create a free and more humane interaction of human beings "in which all share and to which all contribute" (Dewey, 1939, p.15). Almost half a century later, Barber (1984) wrote in a similar fashion of a new form of participatory democratic politics that he called a "strong democracy." Quoting Barber (1984, p.117), "strong democracy rests on the idea of a self-governing community of citizens who are united less by homogenous interests than by civic education and who are made capable of common purpose and mutual action by virtue of their civic attitudes and participatory institutions rather than their altruism of their good nature. Strong democracy is consonant with – indeed it depends on – the politics of conflict, the sociology of pluralism, and the separation of private and public realms of action. [It] offers a relevant alternative to what we have called thin democracy – that is, to instrumental, representative, liberal democracy in its three dispositions."

Both Dewey (1925) and Barber (1984) emphasized the role of dialogue and communication in the process of deliberations. While Dewey (1925) spoke of the internal and social dialogues as a means to develop meanings, Barber (1984) directly linked dialogue to democracy by placing it at the heart of "strong democracy." "Strong democratic talk," he wrote, "entails listening no less than speaking; it is affective as well as cognitive, and its intentionalism draws it out of the domain of pure reflection into the world of action" (Barber, 1984, p.174). In other words, dialogue, discussion and communication have been thought of as capable of turning a collection of separate

individuals into a group where members of the group not only do not isolate themselves from competing views, but also come to understand another's situation from their point of view (Fishkin, 2006; Miller, 1992; Sunstein 2002). Fishkin (2006) believes that understanding the other is the hallmark of deliberation, and Miller (1992) views this transformative process leading away from private interest and prejudice to ethical judgments on the issues.

Differences between the dialogue, discussion and debate have been outlined previously. As a rule, deliberative democratic literature emphasizes the importance of the first two in the process of forming the public judgment (Durant, 2001; Yankelovich, 1999). Quoting Yankelovich (1999, p.199), "we need to use dialogue to focus on the collective problems of living together in communities. For all of its powers, scientific expertise has no answers for us here. But dialogue can help us discover the truths of living together if we change the prevailing paradigm of truth and wisdom."

Despite all the promises of deliberative democratic processes, they are not without criticism. Ackerly (2006) lists the following main weaknesses of public deliberations: (1) they require a certain way of communicating and therefore give power to those best able to conform to deliberative democratic norms; (2) they require the ability to get to the meetings; (3) they require the time to participate, and (4) deliberations pull people apart and highlight their differences, making decision making more adversarial. These criticisms are not without their grounds; nevertheless they have been addressed by practicing planners in a variety of creative ways. This is not to say that the list outlined above should be taken light-heartedly, but to rather emphasize the fact that public

deliberation efforts are complex and dynamic in their nature (Buttom & Mattson, 1999) and therefore require concerted and collaborated efforts in their planning, design, and implementation. As Gastil and Keith (2005, p.16) pointed out, “when deliberation goes wrong, it can degenerate into clumsy compromise or meaningless dialogue that masks the uninterrupted workings of political and economic elites... when Athenian critics of rhetoric pointed to its potential for misuse, Aristotle replied that the same could be said of strength, health, wealth, and generalship; these powers are not good or bad in themselves, only in the uses to which they are put.”

Similar to the ideal of permanent citizen mobilization, the ideal of mass citizen participation and deliberation seems utopian. At the same time, the principles of deliberative democracy are what Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. called “the search for remedy” (in Dionne, 1991). Answering the call to make deliberation a central feature of American political culture (Gastil & Keith, 2005), the framework of deliberative democracy offers an inclusive answer to the question of “who has the right to deliberate or choose the deliberators, and to whom do the deliberators owe their justifications” (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004, pp.9-10).

Summarizing the main principles of deliberative democracy, Lehtonen (2006) noted that the three propositions are crucial: (1) some form of communicative reason or communicative rationality should guide the political procedure; (2) the essential political act is a public act, as opposed to the purely private act of voting, and (3) process should include democratic deliberation. The section that follows will address these propositions

through the lens of Jürgen Habermas and his theory of communicative rationality, communicative action, and the ideal speech situation.

On Habermas and Communicative Rationality

Communicative rationality of Jürgen Habermas is distinctly different from traditional instrumental and objectivist rationality. Dryzek (1990) notes that as a rule the instrumental rationality has been criticized for: (1) making individuals see themselves as economic men, with no sense of self and community; (2) being antidemocratic; (3) repressing individuals; (4) being ineffective in dealing with complex social problems; (5) making effective and appropriate policy analysis impossible, and (6) informing inappropriate and unfruitful social science instruments and methods. As opposed to the instrumental rationality, communicative rationality of Habermas has its roots in social life and human interactions/ communication. The process of communicative rationality is defined by Habermas (1984, p.17) as “communication oriented to achieving, sustaining and reviewing consensus – and indeed a consensus that rests on the intersubjective recognition of criticizable validity claims.” The promise of communicative rationality is engrained in communicative action or a form of social interaction in which the participants try to reach a shared understanding of the situation (Cronin & DeGreiff, 1998). Gadamer (1975) envisions this understanding as leading to an agreement on the issue or establishing a common framework (“horizon”), with the process therefore becoming what he calls the “fusion of horizons.” Since “horizons” are always in flux, the process of “fusing” them is never complete, and therefore constantly leads to new meanings, new knowledge and new understandings.

Since communicative action is oriented towards the coordination of actions through communication of the members of the community, the extent to which this action is characterized by the reflective understanding forms communicative rationality (Dryzek, 1990). In other words, communicative rationality implies an uncoerced and undistorted interaction among competent individuals, or a set of ideal conditions for discourse which, if followed, can result in emancipatory knowledge achieved through the process of dialogue (Dryzek, 1990; Innes & Booher, 1999b). Innes and Booher (1999b) emphasize the following characteristics of emancipatory knowledge – participants are informed, listened to, respected, have equal power, are able to challenge assumptions and question the status quo, use sincere, comprehensive, accurate and legitimate arguments, and acceptable reasons.

Communicative rationality of Habermas (1984, 1987) is a process of basing judgment on reasons (Calhoun, 1992). At the same time it assumes that a genuine process of reflection and discourse helps define what Durkheim called “collective conscience” or what Rousseau termed a “generalized will” (Pelletier et al., 1999). Here Habermas (1984, 1987) places the emphasis on both participatory process and communication; he goes even further to say that the collective conscience can only be known in the presence of a genuine participatory process that generates it (in Pelletier et al., 1999). This process of deliberation is characterized by the following (Benhabib, 1996b; Mouffe, 1999): (1) participation that is governed by the norms of equality and symmetry (everyone has the same chance to initiate speech acts, to question and interrogate); (2) everyone has the right to question the agenda, and (3) everyone has the right to question the rules of the

discourse procedure and the way in which they are applied. In the identified conditions of a genuine or an “ideal” participatory process, Habermas (1984, 1987) emphasizes the individual autonomy, critical self reflection and ability to challenge existing societal norms and values (Renn et al., 1995b). Ultimately this discourse aspires to an unachievable perfection called the “ideal speech situation” (Webler, 1995). Webler (1995) adapted characteristics outlined by Habermas (1984) to design fair and competent participatory approaches. The section that follows uses interpretations of Habermas (1984, 1987) as offered by Webler (1995).

At the center of communicative action lie four types of speech acts making validity claims: (1) those claiming comprehensibility; (2) those claiming to depict true state of affairs; (3) those claiming normative rightness, and (4) those claiming sincerity (Webler, 1995). The success of communicative action depends on the response to the validity claims raised by the speaker (Cooke, 1998). For a communication without coercion to succeed, four presuppositions should be satisfied. These conditions define what Habermas (1984, 1987) calls the “ideal speech situations.” They are as follows: (1) participants must have the same chance to use speech acts; (2) participants must have the same chance to interpret, justify or refute validity claims; (3) the only speakers permitted in the discourse are those who have the same chance to use speech acts, and (4) the only speakers permitted in the discourse are those who have the same chance to use regulative speech acts. These characteristics define what White (1989) calls “rules of discourse,” or rules of making communicatively rational decisions. As Innes (1996) has pointed out, communicatively rational decisions are those reached consensually through deliberations

involving all stakeholders, because there are good reasons for them rather than because of the economic or political power of participants. Habermas (1984, 1987) believed that this participatory discourse aspiring to the ideal speech situation can bring about the ideal of communicative rationality (Webler, 1995).

Webler (1995) has used the work of Habermas (1984, 1987) to design what he calls a “fair and competent ideal speech situation” (see Table 3). For Webler (1995), fairness is “the distribution among participants of opportunities to act meaningfully,” and competence is the “construction of the most valid understandings and agreements possible given what is reasonably knowable at the time” (pp.58-62).

Table 3.

Conditions for the fair and competent ideal speech situation.

Fairness	Competence
Anyone may participate	Minimal standards for cognitive and lingual competence
Assert validity claims	Access to knowledge
Challenge validity claims	Consensually-approved translation scheme
Influence final determinations of validity	Most reliable methodological techniques available

Source: Webler, 1995.

Webler (1995) refers to the constructed framework as the “right” citizen participation, and characterizes it as: (1) encouraging multi-way communication; (2)

being consensual and non-hierarchical; (3) requiring respect for the autonomy of the individual; (4) relying on the reasonableness of the citizenry to produce workable decisions, and (5) promoting critical self-reflection among the participants.

The framework of communicative rationality of Habermas (1984, 1987), as well as the framework of “fair and competent ideal speech situation” of Webler (1995) appear to be the most promising in addressing the questions this study poses. To this end these two theories, combined with the set of principles of deliberative democracy, will be used as a framework of this study, to guide the development of a model of participatory community tourism planning. In order to bring clarity to the framework, the section that follows will apply principles outlined above to the model of planning as communicative action.

On Planning as Communicative Action

Too often scholarly work on public learning stops where it should really begin: by framing the problems that hamper public deliberations. The professional culture of the social sciences unfortunately encourages this shortsightedness. Researchers shun the pragmatic, prescriptive work of recommending what ought to be done, in which sorts of situations. But planning and policy practitioners have to go where their academic colleagues have been trained not to go: into the prescriptive world of making good judgments about what to do. So while some social scientists take comfortable refuge behind the shamefully thin façade of a “value-free” social science, planning practitioners have to place their bets, staking their jobs and the welfare of affected citizens on those judgments at the same time (Forester, 1999a, p.247).

The need to develop a procedural normative model of public participation in community tourism planning has been emphasized throughout this chapter. In reconciling participatory planning theory with practice, the framework of deliberative democracy offers tremendous advantages as compared to traditional “top-down” planning

approaches. Not only does it bring those most affected by the problem to the core of solving the problem and infuses the element of creating social learning and building social capital in the planning process, it also changes the role of planners as decision makers to the one of facilitators, educators and learners who are professionally responsible for their actions. Planning itself shifts its focus from outputs to outcomes such as trust, fair opportunity, publicity, and reciprocity – all being intrinsic characteristics of a deliberative community (Gutmann & Thompson, 1996; Hibbard, 1999). Forester (1999a) refers to this new framework of planning as “deliberative planning” in which “citizens integrate the worlds of “is” and “ought,” of “science” and “ethics,” as they learn to get something done and what ought to be done” (p.62).

The framework of deliberative democracy integrates the vision of alternative development with the vision of sustainability, democratic governance, and civil society. By doing so it fosters the principles of regional stewardship – an innovative economy, livable communities, social inclusion, and collaborative governance (Alliance for Regional Stewardship, 2005). It shares the vision of planning and development as advocated by the proponents of balanced, dialogic, discursive, collaborative, comprehensive, inclusive, integrative, liberal, participatory, radical, reflective, and transformative planning frameworks that have been discussed throughout this chapter. By placing the emphasis on communication of equals, deliberative democratic planning fosters reflective discourse and inquiry based on dialogic learning and experience (adapted from Forester, 1999a), and builds what Dewey called a “shared way of life” (Boyte & Kari, 1996).

Deliberative democratic planning is neither quick fast nor easy. Practitioners of deliberative democracy wrestle with the competing demands of inclusiveness and group cohesion (Ryfe, 2002), power struggles, gridlock situations, and apathy and suspicion, among others. At the same time rich experiences of practicing planners in conflict resolution, mediation, negotiation and consensus building open the window in the world of planning possibilities (Forester, 1999a). They showcase success stories and failed processes, and provide invaluable information for everyone wishing to develop planning processes. It should be noted that the most appropriate method of public involvement will depend on the specifics of a particular situation, and deliberative democratic framework of planning will not help resolve all existing planning problems (Rowe & Frewer, 2000). Furthermore, as Wilson (1999) pointed out, greater participation does not equal greater democracy. At the same time the practice shows that a change is desperately needed in order to improve the planning practice and inform the planners of the opportunities that the framework of deliberative democracy opens. This chapter sought to discuss these opportunities to illustrate the potential of deliberative democratic framework in the planning field. The section that follows will discuss existing participatory planning theories, practices and models in the field of tourism, and will review evaluative frameworks of participatory tourism planning processes. The final section of this chapter will return the discussion back to deliberative democracy, in order to illustrate how the model of deliberative democratic planning can answer the call for needed participatory planning models in community tourism planning. It will specifically focus on two frameworks that appear to be the most promising for the purposes of this study – Public

Participation Spectrum developed by the International Association for Public Participation (IAP2), and evaluation criteria and guidelines for the effective conduct of a participation exercise, distilled from the literature by Rowe, Marsh and Frewer (2001) and Rowe, Marsh, Reynolds and Frewer (2001).

Citizen Participation in Tourism Planning

What exactly constitutes tourism planning process has long been discussed. One of the earliest definitions has been by Chadwick (1971) who envisioned planning as a process of human thought for the future; Dror (1973) spoke of planning as the process of preparing a set of decisions for future actions; Murphy (1985) believed that the role of planning was to promote orderly development and increase the social, economic, and environmental benefits of the development process; Getz (1987) defined planning as a process based on research and evaluation, which seeks to optimize the potential contribution of tourism to human welfare and environmental quality; Veal (1992) argued that planning should be viewed as the process of deciding; Hall (2000) added that planning was more than deciding since it often incorporated decision making and policy making; he also noted that values lied at the core of tourism planning; and Stankey et al. (1999) adopted Friedmann's (1973, 1987) theory of transactive planning to outline natural resource planning as a process of creating opportunities for dialogue, learning, and societal guidance.

Tourism planning is carried out at international/ intraregional, national, regional and local levels (Inskeep, 1991; Pearce, 1989; World Tourism Organization, with Inskeep, 1994). Local/ community tourism planning has often been referred to as

destination planning (Marcouiller, 1997). Traditionally, local tourism planning has been associated with land use zoning, physical planning, and development planning (Hall, 2000; Rosenow & Pulsipher, 1979). Until recently, the main focus of tourism planning has been on marketing, promotion and regional boosterism (Butler, 1991; Fuller & Reid, 1998; Loukissas, 1983; Marcouiller, 1997; Murphy, 1985; Reid, 2003). Single-focused on attracting businesses and visitors to the destination, tourism planners and regional developers have often neglected the fact that tourism might not even fit in the vision of the regional development (Marcouiller, 1997). In some cases this had caused organized protests, litigation processes, and host community attempts to ensure that tourism projects are not implemented. In others, dependency on tourism as a source of economic revenue placed communities in a position of being unable to reject or oppose tourism development projects due to the possibility of losing economic benefits (Tosun, 2000). In recent years however the magnitude of economic benefits of tourism has been challenged in terms of potential costs as well as distribution of benefits accrued (i.e. who benefits?). As Hall (1994) noted, in many cases it is the local people who have learned about the costs of tourism, while the investors and the government have been reaping huge profits from tourism development projects.

Criticism of traditional tourism planning approached has been fierce and closely followed criticism of urban and regional planning practices. Tourism has been criticized for imposing planning decisions on local communities (Keogh, 1990; Sautter & Leisen, 1999), for being rigid, inflexible, not comprehensive or integrated (Tosun & Timothy, 2001), in addition to being fragmented and contradictory, lacking consensus of the local

communities, and resulting in uncontrolled development (Butler, 1991). Likewise, tourism plans have been criticized for being myopic and difficult to implement. An analysis of seven five-year development plans over the period of 1963-2000 by Tosun (2006) illustrates that the primary concern of tourism development was/ is to increase foreign exchange earnings, while environmental issues and the distribution of benefits remained largely neglected. In regard to implementation, a study by the World Tourism Organization (1980) reports that 43.5% of 1,619 tourism plans prepared before 1980, were never implemented. With many statements in tourism planning documents serving merely as nice words (Tosun, 2006), Bonilla (1997) argued that the best plans are those that ensure commitment to implementation, and not necessarily the ones of the highest technical quality. At the local level there exist numerous examples of how haphazard tourism development can lead to detrimental impacts on communities, local economies, and the environment (Marcouiller, 1997). Moreover, tourism development which is not integrated with community can be disastrous (Butler & Hall, 1998). Addressing this problem, Godfrey and Clarke (2000) have pointed out many of the problems associated with tourism are not necessarily the fault of tourists or tourism per se, but more the result of poor planning. According to Choy (1991, p.326), "the question is not whether to plan or not to plan, but what type of tourism planning should be done." In search for an alternative to traditional rigid tourism planning models, Rosenow and Pulsipher (1979) wrote that "the best of plans will not do the job if the people affected are not involved in the entire planning process... plans sometimes fail because they are poorly conceived, but more often they fail because they are not understood or appreciated... and such plans

most often are never implemented” (p.81). By this Rosenow and Pulsipher (1979) called for creating opportunities for communities to provide input, review, and feedback on tourism plans and development programs. They believed that community input helps to develop plans that are more responsive to local needs, and that those plans will have a better chance of community acceptance. Marien and Pizam (1997) added that in order to implement sustainable tourism initiatives, direct support and involvement of those affected by it are a must. Pearce and Moscardo (1999) summarized that development which is a part of a community is generally more successful than development which apart from a community. To achieve this decentralized, integrated and dynamic community-led tourism planning and development, the focus of tourism planning needed to shift from the one of economic growth and marketing, to the one of community input (Godfrey & Clarke, 2000; Timothy, 1999).

Tourism literature has responded to this criticism by developing a variety of tourism planning models and approaches, among them – integrated and integrative tourism planning (Butler, 1991; Gunn, 1988, 1994; Ioannides, 1995; Inskip, 1988, 1991; Marcouiller, 1997; Pearce, 1989; Pearce & Moscardo, 1999), responsible and responsive tourism planning (Haywood, 1988; Ritchie, 1993), comprehensive and balanced tourism planning (Madrigal, 1993; Murphy, 1985), collaborative tourism planning (Jamal & Getz, 1995; Reed, 1997, 2000; Sautter & Leisen, 1999; Williams et al, 1998), participatory tourism planning (Timothy, 1999), inclusive tourism planning (Costa, 2001; Madrigal, 1995; Prentice, 1993), and dialogic tourism planning (Jamal, Stein & Harper, 2002). Reflecting the broader trends in urban and regional planning, tourism planning literature

has also shifted to the focus to sustainability, citizen involvement, and community-led development. The latter emphasis on engaging the public in tourism planning and decision making at the community level has been especially visible. deKadt (1979) argued that the main “real-life” impacts of tourism are experiences by the people who live in the communities of the tourist destination areas. Years later, impacts of tourism are still considered to be the most apparent at the level of destination community (Timothy, 1999). Therefore for communities to benefit from tourism, they must be given opportunities to participate in tourism planning and decision making, as well as gain financially from tourism development projects.

In a similar manner, tourism practice called for tourism development in a controlled, integrated and sustainable manner, based on sound planning (World Tourism Organization, 1994). Recognizing the role of community involvement in tourism planning and development at the local level, World Tourism Organization (1994) called for establishing a policy approach at the national and regional levels that would favor development of sustainable community based tourism practices. Bringing modern day tourism practices to high standards of sustainability, citizen participation, and environmental protection set forth by the *Brundtland Report* (1987) and *Agenda 21* (1992), has once again shifted the focus of tourism development initiatives to developing the types of tourism which would generate benefits to local communities. Ensuring effective planning and management has not only been viewed as a prerequisite for “the successful utilization of tourism as an agent of change” (Fletcher & Cooper, 1996, p.182), but as a tool to help communities achieve the goals of sustainable development

(Butler, 1991). Sustainable development goals have been extensively discussed in tourism literature; in summary, Mitchell (1997) noted that the key aspects of sustainable development include empowerment of local people, self-reliance and social justice, while Timothy (1999) added to this list more equitable distribution of wealth, collaborative and participatory tourism planning and decision making, and integration of the tourism industry into other sectors.

Before examining existing and needed participatory tourism planning frameworks, it is important to place the evolution of tourism planning thought in a broader context. The section that follows will briefly outline the major shifts in tourism planning thought, leading to the most recent calls for more participatory, collaborative, and communicative frameworks of tourism planning at a community level.

From Boosterism to Sustainable and Participatory Tourism Planning

Costa (2001) has illustrated the evolution of tourism planning as a specialization of town planning, through the following stages: (1) classical planning phase (1850-1950) – town planning carried out in a traditional top-down manner with planners playing the role of all-knowing “prophets”; tourism planning is viewed as a simplistic process of developing new infrastructure, opening new hotels, etc. (Inskeep, 1991); (2) rational planning phase (1950-1970) – town planning is viewed as a scientific activity based on rational and neutral approaches supported by scientific method, at the same time the rational planning paradigm proves its inadequacy; tourism planning is left to the business sector, and tourism impacts are not being discussed, and (3) planning after the 1980s – town planning is affected by globalization and new perspectives brought about by the

Brundtland Report (1987) and *Agenda 21* (1992), the focus shifts to long-term sustainable growth and development, citizen participation, and environmental protection; tourism planning emphasizes authenticity and grassroots development, and recognizes potential costs and negative impacts of tourism on destinations.

In a similar manner Getz (1987) outlined four traditions of tourism planning: (1) boosterism – tourism is viewed as inherently good; tourism development is defined in business terms; (2) an economic/ industry-oriented approach – tourism is used to bring foreign revenue and encourage regional development; tourism development is defined in economic terms; (3) a physical/ spatial approach – tourism is viewed as a spatial and regional phenomenon; tourism development is defined in environmental terms (Dowling, 1993; Gunn, 1994; Inskip, 1991), and (4) a community-oriented approach – shift to alternative models of tourism development; emphasis on balanced tourism development defined in defined in socio-cultural terms (Blank, 1989; Murphy, 1985; Macbeth, 1997). Hall (2000) has added to this list the fifth tradition of sustainable tourism planning, or tourism practices integrating economic, environmental and socio-cultural values; recognition of political dimension of tourism, and emphasis on fairness of tourism planning processes (Krippendorf, 1987; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; McKercher, 1997).

It should be noted that these stages/ traditions are neither necessarily sequential, nor are they mutually exclusive (Hall, 2000). However they illustrate an important shift in tourism thought from viewing tourism as inherently good, to recognizing its complexity and political nature. In practice, the dominant rational ideology still often considers tourism planners as experts, nevertheless there have been attempts of what Hall

(2000) calls “exorcising the ghost of technical rationality,” furthermore practicing planners are beginning to see themselves as facilitators rather than decision makers (Forester, 1999, 2006). In other words, tourism planning literature has come to emphasize the need to shift to what Costa (2001) called “back to the future” tourism paradigm focused on balanced, integrative and inclusive forms of planning with high levels of public participation. It closely resembles the “third way” of Giddens (1998) by emphasizing inability of past political processes to deal with modern social complexities, as well as recognizing an important relationship of the individual with the state, and the crucial role of active civil society (Burns, 2004).

Calls for more integrated, inclusive and collaborative approaches to tourism planning are not new. In 1979, deKadt recommended community controlled planning as opposed to typical remedial planning; in 1983, Getz noted that community support is needed to ensure successful tourism development, and Loukissas (1983) added that involvement of those affected in the formulation of tourism plans will help build support for the plans and trust and confidence among planners; in 1985, Murphy outlined the ecological model of community tourism planning calling for widespread community involvement in planning and decision making; in 1988, Haywood called for high degree of public participation in what he envisioned to be a “responsible” and “responsive” tourism planning; in 1991, Inskeep pointed out that host communities must have a voice in shaping their future; in 1993, Prentice argued that community involvement in tourism development has become an ideology of tourism planning, Ritchie (1993) added that resident responsive tourism is the watchword of tomorrow, and Woodley (1993) noted

that a community based approach to tourism planning and development is a prerequisite to sustainability; in 1994, Gill and Williams wrote that community involvement is one of the most important elements of tourism development; in 1995, Jamal and Getz outlined the framework of collaboration theory in tourism planning; in 1996, Brohman stated that public participation can help solve many of existing tourism problems; in 1998, Potts and Harrill outlined participatory community tourism planning in a form of a "travel ecology" approach; in 1999, Selin wrote of importance of partnerships and collaborations in tourism; in 2000, Hall advocated collaborative and interactive approach to tourism planning; and in 2004, Murphy and Murphy argued that the ideal planning structure should be flexible and dynamic (also see Westfall and Hoffman, 1983). At the same time, these authors have recognized that achieving genuine and meaningful citizen participation in tourism planning and decision making is not easy (deKadt, 1979).

Mathieson and Wall (1982) noted that with the exception of a very few examples, community involvement in tourism has been rare. Dowling (1993) argued that citizen involvement in planning has been more of a feature of environmental planning than tourism planning, especially through the environmental impact assessment reviews. Finally, Williams et al. (1998) took the issue to the governmental level to illustrate collaborative planning initiatives in other sectors (e.g. transportation, housing, environmental planning). He noted that even though innovative participatory planning programs exist, in most cases tourism interests have rarely been involved (Williams et al., 1998). When they were present, outcomes and outputs of these programs have not gone past Arnstein's "tokenism," with authentic participation occurring rather seldom. In the

words of Cole (1997), even though community participation has been considered a basic principle of sustainable tourism development, it has been the least successfully put into practice.

Some argue that in part these inadequacies can be explained by the gap in tourism planning literature lacking theoretical frameworks of participatory tourism planning programs (Ioannides, 1995). Blackstock (2005) pointed out that community based tourism has been practiced as a way of ensuring maximization of the profits rather than empowering local residents, that often local communities have been treated as homogenous blocks, and that external constraints to local control of tourism have been ignored. In addition, public participation has often been criticized for being a “one-shot” attempt on gathering information as opposed to two- or multi-way communication of all stakeholders (Simmons, 1994). Murphy (1985) noted that more often than not local communities have been viewed as a resource to be used, or as an obstacle to be overcome in order to implement development strategies (also see Fuller & Reid, 1998; Reid, 2003). Allen, Long, Perdue & Kieselbach (1988) argued that lower to moderate levels of tourism are quite beneficial to the community, however he failed to consider the fact that sometimes “No” could be the best answer to tourism as a development scenario (Brass, 1994). According to Lane (1994), the community route to development has often been considered academically and politically “correct,” but not much thought and effort is being put into designing authentic and meaningful participatory programs that could ensure a greater propensity for long term stability.

In order to address these threats, Kaiser and Helber (1978) advocated the shift towards coordinated approach to tourism planning incorporating citizen participation; Aas, Ladkin and Fletcher (2005), Mitchell and Reid (2001), and Tosun (2000) wrote of importance of dialogue, cooperation, and collaboration among the various stakeholders, and most recently Bramwell and Lane (1999), Hall (2000), Selin (1999), Timothy (1999), Tosun and Timothy (2001), and Wearing, Laganese and Coronado (n.d.) have linked integration, cooperation and collaboration to sustainable development. Jackson and Morpeth (1999) have combined the goals of sustainable development, tourism, and the *Local Agenda 21* initiative. Marcouiller (1997) and Williams et al. (1998) have summarized the above mentioned concerns by stating that tourism destination planning should take a more comprehensive, integrative, transparent, carefully designed, well understood and consistently applied approach that is tied to resident perceptions and citizen participation in planning.

Finally, one of the most powerful arguments explaining the inability of traditional planning practices to address complex realities is the lack of alternative models/ frameworks of participatory tourism planning. As Tosun (2006) and others noted, it takes a long educational process to develop participatory capacity of tourism planning, and more studies are needed to develop a model to better understand how to involve local communities effectively in tourism (also see Bramwell & Lane, 1999; Harrill, 2004; Jamal & Getz, 1995, 1999; Marcouiller, 1997; Murphy & Murphy, 2004; Reed, 2000; Reid, 2003; and Reid et al., 2004, among others). Simmons (1994) argued that a thorough analysis of participation methods and mechanisms is lacking in the academic literature,

and Jamal et al. (2002) pointed out that development of effective mechanisms for stakeholder involvement is absolutely necessary in order to understand particular participatory processes. In response, attempts to formulate community approaches to tourism planning have been made by Murphy (1985), Haywood (1988), Ritchie (1988), Getz (1986), Blank (1989), and Reid (2003). Many of these models have been criticized for failing to address important aspects of effective and successful participatory tourism processes including the issue of stakeholder representation (deAraujo & Bramwell, 1999), power dynamics and influence (Pearce, Moscardo & Ross, 1996; Reed, 1997, 2000), political nature of tourism planning and development processes (Hall, 1994, 2000), the role of information in participatory processes (Costa, 2001; Keogh, 1990; Murphy, 1991), viewing community as homogeneous/ cohesive/ an aggregation of people at a particular locality (Hall & Lew, 1998; Reed, 1997), not incorporating residents' attitudes to tourism development (Liu & Var, 1986; Rothman, 1978), and emphasizing the end product rather than the process itself (Getz, 1987). Finally, many have noted the lack of an evaluative framework of participatory tourism planning processes (Getz, 1987; Joppe, 1996).

We will return to the discussion of evaluative frameworks in participatory processes at the end of this chapter. The following section will outline existing participatory tourism practices, their potential and weaknesses.

Participatory Tourism Planning Practices and Models

Communities are the destination of most travelers. It is in communities that tourism happens. Because of this, tourism industry development and management must be brought effectively to bear in communities (Blank, 1989, p.4).

Participatory and collaborative tourism studies vary greatly in their goals, objectives, research questions, and methods. The following list provides a selection of participatory tourism studies that have been conducted up to date (in chronological order):

- Cooke (1982) – a study of tourism development, community carrying capacity and citizen involvement in tourism planning in British Columbia (Canada),
- Keogh (1990) – a study of public participation in community tourism planning in Cap-Pele, New Brunswick (Canada),
- Choy (1991) – a study of tourism planning in Pacific island destinations,
- Selin and Beason (1991b) – a study of inter-organizational collaborative planning in Ozark-St. Francis National Forest, Arkansas (U.S.),
- Dowling (1993) – a study of tourism development planning in Shark Bay (Western Australia),
- Prentice (1993) – a study of community based tourism planning in Yorkshire (UK),
- Simmons (1989, 1994) – evaluation of participatory tourism mechanisms in Ontario (Canada),
- Fletcher and Cooper (1996) – examination of tourism strategy planning in Hungary,
- Wilson, Roseland and Day (1996) – examination of a shared decision making process of comprehensive land use planning in Vancouver (Canada),
- Jamal (1998) – a study of community roundtables in Canmore (Canada),

- Reed (1997, 2000), and Gill and Reed (1997) – a study of community in transition from forestry to tourism (Canada),
- Stabler (1997) – selection of case studies examining sustainable tourism initiatives around the world (see Harper (1997) – a study of the local tourism development project in Cumbria (UK), and Cole (1997) – a study of the local tourism development project in Indonesia),
- Lewis (1998) – a study of rural tourism development in Indiana (U.S.),
- Timothy (1998, 1999) – examination of participatory tourism planning efforts in Yogyakarta (Indonesia),
- Williams et al. (1998) – examination of a shared decision making process of comprehensive land use planning in Cariboo-Chilcotin (Canada),
- Bahaire and Elliott-White(1999) – a study of community participation in tourism planning and development in York (UK),
- Bosselman, Peterson and McCarthy (1999) – a study of community tourism development in Whistler, BC, and Jackson/ Teton County, WY (Canada and U.S.),
- Bramwell and Sharman (1999) – a study of collaboration in tourism policymaking in Peak District National Park (UK),
- de Araujo and Bramwell (1999) – a study of the regional planning tourism initiative in Brazil,
- Torres (1999) – a study of ecotourism planning in Peru,

- Hanna (2000) – a study of participatory resource management program in Vancouver (Canada),
- King, McVey and Simmons (2000) – a study of community tourism development in South Pacific,
- Mitchell and Eagles (2001) – a study of integrative tourism development in Peru,
- Ladkin and Bertramini (2002) – a study of integrative tourism development in Peru,
- Harrill and Potts (2003) – a study of tourism planning in Charleston, South Carolina (U.S.),
- Warren, Pihema, Taylor, Gough, Blaschke and Baily (2003) – a study of collaboration in tourism planning in New Zealand,
- Reid et al. (2004) – a study of community tourism planning in Southwest Ontario (Canada),
- Aas et al. (2005) – a study of collaborative heritage tourism planning efforts in Luang Prabang (Laos),
- Blackstock (2005) – a study of community involvement in tourism development in Port Douglas (North Queensland, Australia),
- Mair et al. (2005) – a study of tourism planning and development in rural Ontario (Canada),
- Li (2006) – a study of public participation in decisionmaking in Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve (China), and
- Tosun (2006) – a study of tourism planning and development in Urgup (Turkey).

Despite being carried in different settings, at different times, and in different social and political contexts, studies outlined above have painted a common picture of participatory tourism planning processes as practiced today. This picture looks as follows:

- Hesitancy of authorities to embrace participatory tourism planning in fear of losing their role of public representation,
- Lack of political and organizational will to share decision making power and resources with the citizens,
- Participatory tourism planning processes not being representative of the broader communities,
- Focus on efficiency at the expense of fairness of the process,
- Exclusive and somewhat elitist nature of existing tourism planning and development initiatives,
- Planners assuming the role of experts,
- Minimal (tokenistic) level of citizen involvement, with some cases exhibiting manipulative participation efforts,
- Lack of information sharing and one-way communication with the public,
- Lack of collaboration and absence of joint decision making (i.e. the right to participate does not equal to the capacity to participate),
- Lack of cooperation among tourism organizations, and
- As Jamal and Getz (1999) noted, labeling a process as “consensus” does not ensure that the voices of participants will be heard and included in decision making.

At the same time, studies outlined above have also emphasized the promising potential of participatory and collaborative tourism planning initiatives including:

- Achieving objectives of equity, sustainability, efficiency, and resilience,
- Increasing accountability of the tourism industry to the public,
- Providing an opportunity to make balanced and better informed decisions,
- Initiating the process of social learning and improving the quality of decisions,
- Securing legitimacy of decisions made,
- Increased chances to properly address community's concerns,
- Reducing the problem of dissociation by opening the tourism planning process to various stakeholders,
- Increased chances to overcome power imbalances through collaboration,
- Strengthening community's social capital, and
- Initiating/ sustaining a process of community building and development.

The common emphasis of studies reviewed has been on pointing out that the most successful examples of tourism occur in communities in which there is broadly based resident participation in planning and decision making, and that much more than lip service to public participation is required if successful community planning efforts are to emerge. Another common thread has been of the need of higher levels of community integration in tourism planning and decision making, to result in enhanced socioeconomic benefits for the community (Mitchell & Eagles, 2001).

Lastly, participatory and collaborative tourism studies outlined above vary in their use of participatory planning frameworks and models. Most of existing participatory

planning tourism frameworks draw on participatory planning theories outlined earlier in the chapter. One of the recent attempts to adapt participatory planning theories to specific context of tourism has been done by Tosun (1999). His suggested normative typology of community participation is presented in Figure 9.







7. Selfmobilization		8. Citizen control	Degrees of citizen power		<u>Spontaneous Participation</u> Bottom-up, active, direct, authentic participation in decision making; self planning
6. Interactive participation		7. Delegated power			
		6. Partnership			
5. Functional participation		5. Placation	Degrees of citizen tokenism		<u>Induced Participation</u> Top-down, passive, indirect, formal, tokenistic pseudo-participation; participation in implementation and sharing benefits; choice between proposed alternatives and feedback.
4. Participation for material incentives		4. Consultation			
3. Participation by consultation		3. Informing			
2. Passive participation		2. Therapy	Non-participation		<u>Coercive Participation</u> Top-down, passive, indirect, formal, tokenistic participation; participation in implementation, but not necessarily sharing benefits; choice between proposed limited alternatives or no choice.
1. Manipulative participation		1. Manipulation			
Typology of community participation (Pretty, 1995)	Typology of community participation (Arnstein, 1969)				Typology of community participation (Tosun, 1999)

Figure 9. Normative typologies of community participation.

Source: Tosun, 1999.

Drawing on Arnstein's (1969) ladder of citizen participation and Pretty's (1995) typology of participation, Tosun (1999) outlined a normative model of community participation in tourism where he differentiated between coercive participation (Arnstein's non-participation), induced participation (Arnstein's tokenism), and spontaneous participation (Arnstein's citizen power). While reconciling the broader participatory planning theory with tourism, Tosun (1999) recognized several weaknesses of his model – not addressing design of participatory process, its intensity, inclusiveness and representation of participants, power imbalances, political economy, constraints to participation, and general practicality of participatory tourism development (also see Tosun, 2000).

In a similar manner, Marien and Pizam (1997) have differentiated between (tokenistic) administrative- and (empowering) citizen-oriented participatory planning techniques; and Hall and Lew (1998) have distinguished sanctioned planning from independent political organization. The normative model of participatory tourism planning developed by Timothy (1999) stressed a twofold nature of community involvement in the tourism development process – in the decision making process, and in the benefits of tourism development. Timothy (1998) outlined four types of cooperation necessary for the development of successful integrative tourism: cooperation between government agencies, between levels of administration, between same level polities, as well as private- and public-sector cooperation. In a different manner, Sautter and Leisen (1999) envisioned tourism planning within political economic or functional frameworks, with the latter emphasizing collective planning and decision making by affected parties.

Finally, Treuren and Lane (2003) have described five ideal planning processes - organization/ individual driven process, industry level planning, bipartite planning process, state driven planning process, and stakeholder based planning process.

Among models specifically addressing tourism planning processes is the work of Drake (1991) outlining nine stages of local participation in planning and managing ecotourism as (1) determine role of local participation in the project; (2) choose research team; (3) conduct preliminary studies; (4) determine level of participation; (5) determine appropriate participation mechanisms; (6) initiate dialogue and educational efforts; (7) collective decision making; (8) development of an action plan, and (9) monitoring and evaluation. Garrod, Wilson and Bruce (2001) revised Drake's model to include the following eight stages: (1) determine appropriate participation mechanisms; (2) undertake initial dialogue and educational efforts; (3) create and/ or reinforce support mechanisms; (4) conduct preliminary studies; (5) collective decision making; (6) community based development of action plan and implementation scheme; (7) implementation, and (8) monitoring and evaluation. In a similar manner, participatory ecotourism planning model of Bonilla (1997) included the sequence of preliminary assessment, strategic participatory planning workshop, and validation of decisions by a steering committee. In a somewhat different fashion, Reid et al. (1993) outlined community development tourism strategy in a non-linear manner to illustrate that participatory community tourism planning rarely takes form of traditional entrepreneurial planning approach. Stages of collaborative tourism planning process of Jamal and Getz (1995) included: (1) problem setting; (2) direction setting, and (3) implementation. Murphy and Murphy (2004) resorted back to

the lineal model of strategic tourism planning including familiar steps of setting the vision, mission, goals and objectives of the project, with the actual planning placed at the last stage of the process.

Models outlined above provide a general view of participatory community tourism planning but fail to address what Pearce and Butler (1993) define as the key components of public participation – goals and forms of public participation, factors affecting outcome of public participation, methods and sequences of involving the public, and key outputs from public participation programs. The section that follows will examine existing evaluative frameworks addressing the very aspect of citizen participation.

Evaluative Frameworks of Participatory Tourism Planning

Participatory tourism planning studies often refer to evaluative frameworks developed outside the field of tourism. Smith L. (1984) suggested focusing on three aspects of public participation for evaluation purposes: (1) context (historical background, institutional arrangements, and agency features); (2) process (goals and objectives for participation, number and nature of participants, and methodology employed), and (3) outcome (results of participation, and effectiveness). In a similar manner, Simpson (2001) developed a tourism planning process evaluation framework consisting of: (1) stakeholder participation; (2) vision and values; (3) situation analysis; (4) goals and objectives, and (5) implementation and review. Bramwell and Sharman (1999) developed yet another framework for evaluation of collaborative initiatives focusing on: (1) scope of collaboration; (2) intensity of collaboration, and (3) degree to

which consensus emerged. However they noted that their model is inadequate in addressing the aspect of inclusion and power sharing. Finally, Penrose (1996) outlined a framework of design and evaluative criteria for shared decision making process (see Table 4).

Table 4.

Framework of design and evaluative criteria for shared decision making process.

Criteria	Description
Support for process	Participants must acknowledge need for change and be committed to SDM Participation must be voluntary. Appropriateness of negotiation should be assessed before negotiations begin.
Government support for process	Government must demonstrate leadership and commitment by establishing clear objectives, allocating sufficient resources, and acting upon consensus recommendations. It should legislate SDM processes and the public's right to participation. Government must provide timely policy support and coordinate a SDM process with related initiatives.
Representation and resources: inclusive representation of interests	All interested and affected parties must be allowed to participate. Timely notification of opportunities to participate must be given and provision made to add parties after negotiations begin. Government representation is critical. The number of parties must be manageable. The wider public must be kept informed.
Effective representation of interests	<i>Sector representatives</i> must be committed, interest-based, empowered, maintain communication with constituents, and use their resources efficiently. <i>Government representatives</i> must exhibit all traits of sector representatives and be neutral, available, skilled and knowledgeable.
Sufficient resources for participants	Participants must be provided sufficient and timely training, funding, and information. Information must be accurate, understandable, and relevant. Joint-fact finding promotes productive problem-solving. Experts must be available to explain and interpret information.
Effective process management	Process managers must be neutral, committed, available, skilled, and knowledgeable.
Process design: clear terms of reference and realistic scope	Terms of reference must be clear and agreed to by all parties. The mandate should be scoped appropriately to keep negotiations manageable. Geographic scale should be meaningful to all participants. A realistic time frame must be set.
Participatory design	All participants should be involved in negotiation process design.
Comprehensive and effective procedural framework	A comprehensive procedural framework should delineate: roles, responsibilities, and conduct of participants; organization, roles, and authority of subgroups; consensus and a dispute settlement process; deadlines and a fallback mechanism; and meeting management rules and media policy. The process must be adaptive. Participants must adhere to procedural agreements if a framework is to be effective.
Structured and integrative decision making framework	Complexity of substantive issues must be managed by structuring the decision process. Objective criteria should be used to provide clarity and bound discretion. All participants must be involved meaningfully in decision-making. The process should be comprehensive and integrative in order to promote decisions rooted in the social, economic, and environmental principles of sustainability.

Source: Penrose (1996).

Towards Deliberative Democratic Framework of Community Tourism Planning

While two preceding sections focused on examining the framework of deliberative democracy and participatory tourism planning theories and models, the section that follows will attempt to reconcile the two and will put forward a suggestion that the framework of deliberative democracy might have the greatest promise to further the tourism planning literature that currently lacks comprehensive participatory planning models. To this end, this section will attempt to establish the list of characteristics that would accurately describe the process of “community dialogue” outlined by Weeks (2000).

In establishing the list of characteristics, the following frameworks for evaluation of participatory processes have been consulted (in chronological order):

- Responsive evaluation framework (Stake, 1975 in Guba & Lincoln, 1981, 1989),
- The model plan for public participation (The National Environmental Justice Advisory Council, 1994),
- The IAP2 Public Participation Spectrum (International Association for Public Participation, n.d.a),
- The IAP2 Public Participation Toolbox (International Association for Public Participation, n.d.b),
- The guide to effective participation (Wilcox, 1994),
- Evaluation criteria for participatory processes (Poisner, 1996),
- Participatory Decisionmaking Process model (The Regional Environmental Center for Central and Eastern Europe, 1996),

- Evaluation handbook (W.K. Kellogg Foundation, 1998),
- Conditions of procedural justice in hazardous siting (Hunold & Young, 1999),
- Normative principles for effective community consultation (Tuler & Webler, 1999),
- Deliberative democratic evaluation checklist (House & Howe, 2000),
- Participation indicators (Morrissey, 2000),
- Qualities of successful processes (Beierle & Konisky, 2000),
- Evaluation and citizen engagement framework (Department of Justice, Canada, 2001),
- Evaluation criteria and guidelines for the effective conduct of a participation exercise (Marsh, Rowe & Frewer, 2001; Rowe, Marsh & Frewer, 2001; Rowe, Marsh, Reynolds & Frewer, 2001),
- Evaluation of public participation in the environmental assessment of trade negotiations (Cooper, 2002),
- International principles for social impact assessment (International Association for Impact Assessment, 2003),
- Logic model development guide (W.K. Kellogg Foundation, 2004),
- Normative framework for evaluating the democratic merits of collaborative policymaking process (Leach, 2004), and
- Public involvement needs assessment (Center for Collaborative Policy, 2005).

A few of the most promising frameworks are briefly discussed below. To start with, a *Participatory Decision Making Process* model of the Regional Environmental Center for Central and Eastern Europe (1996) lists characteristics of participatory processes at each

of the planning stages from early involvement in the planning process, through project implementation of planning, sharing the benefits, and process evaluation (see Figure 10).

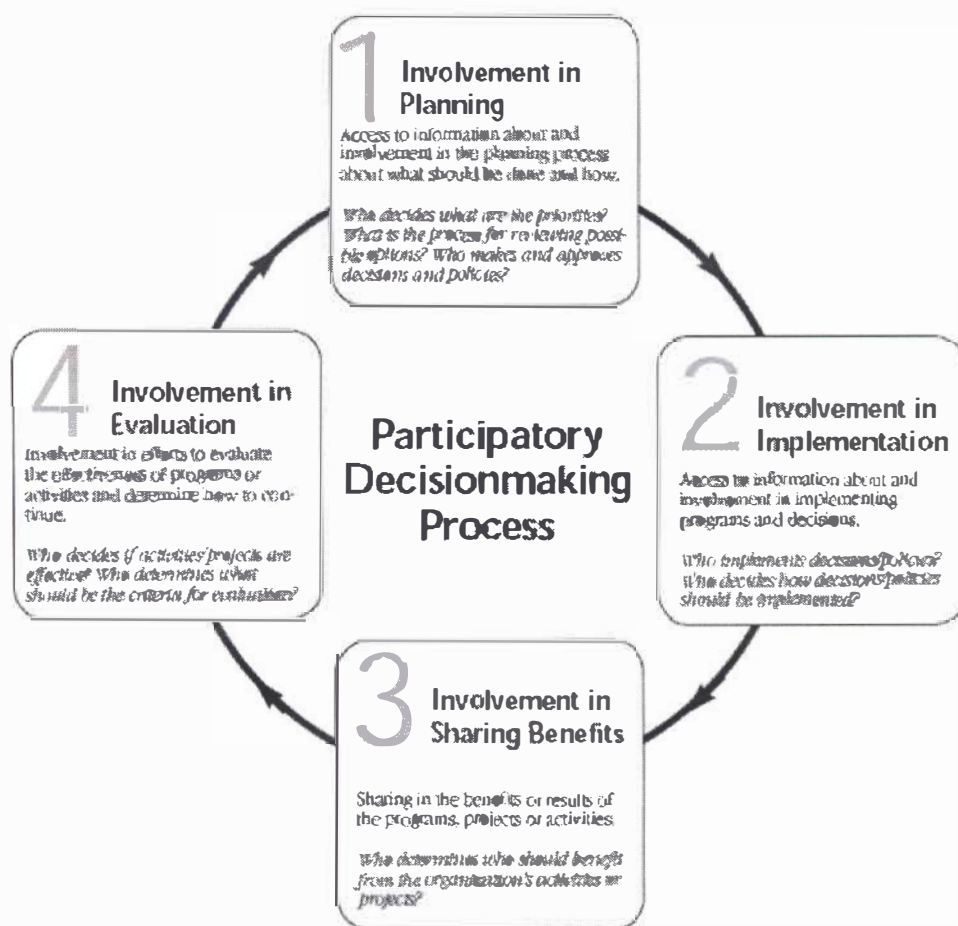


Figure 10. Participatory decisionmaking process model.

Source: The Regional Environmental Center for Central and Eastern Europe, 1996.

Next, Poisner (1996) offers seven evaluation criteria for participatory processes:

(1) do the participants represent all significant sectors of the community; (2) does the process focus on the common good; (3) does the process engender critical reflection of the values underlying the discussion; (4) do the participants communicate in person, face-

to-face; (5) does the process involve citizens, as opposed to individuals hired to represent citizens; (6) does the participation process encourage dialogue, and (7) does the process inculcate civic virtue? Tuler and Webler (1999) outline the following normative principles for effective community consultation: (1) access to the process; (2) power to influence the process and outcomes; (3) access to information; (4) structural characteristics to promote constrictive interaction; (5) facilitation of constructive personal behavior; (6) adequate analysis, and (7) enabling social conditions necessary for future processes. In a similar manner, Hunold and Young (1999) discuss conditions of procedural justice as: (1) inclusiveness; (2) consultation over equal resources and access to information; (3) shared decision making authority, and (4) authoritative decision making. These characteristics, in their turn, resemble qualities of successful processes identified by Beierle and Konisky (2000): (1) the quality of deliberative process; (2) the quality of communication with the government/ authorities; (3) the commitment of the lead agency, and (4) the degree of shared jurisdiction over the process.

Referring to deliberative processes, House and Howe (2000) outline a *Deliberative democratic evaluation checklist* emphasizing: (1) inclusion - whose interests are represented in the evaluation; are all major stakeholders represented, and should some stakeholders be excluded; (2) dialogue – do power imbalances distort or impede dialogue and deliberation; are there procedures to control power imbalances; in what ways do stakeholders participate; how authentic is the participation, and how involved in the interaction, and (3) deliberation – is there reflective deliberation; how extensive is the deliberation, and how well considered is the deliberation? Likewise, Morrissey (2000) suggest the following participation indicators: (1) process indicators -

the effectiveness of citizen participation in an ongoing process of comprehensive development; (2) developmental benefits – the impact of participation on individual human development and community capacity, and (3) instrumental benefits – the impact of participation on policy, decision making, or broader community change. Leach (2004) lists six criteria for evaluating the democratic merits of collaborative policymaking process: (1) inclusiveness; (2) representativeness; (3) procedural fairness; (4) lawfulness; (5) deliberativeness, and (6) empowerment. Lastly, all of the above mentioned characteristics of deliberative democratic participatory processes find their reflection in the theoretical framework developed by Rowe, Marsh and Frewer (2001) and Rowe, Marsh, Reynolds and Frewer (2001). While recognizing inherent difficulties in conducting evaluations (complexity and value-laden nature of the concept of participation, absence of criteria for judging success and failure, absence of agreed-upon evaluation methods, and lack of reliable measurement tools) – see Rosener (1981), they suggest the list of theoretical criteria (as distilled from a review of relevant literature) that are essential for public participation. Not only do Rowe and Frewer (2000) differentiate between procedural criteria (what makes for an effective process) and substantive criteria (how to measure effective outcomes), they proceed by suggesting the need to consider which aspects of the process are desirable, and then measure the presence or quality of these process aspects.

The theoretical framework of Rowe, Marsh and Frewer (2001), Rowe, Marsh, Reynolds and Frewer (2001), and Marsh, Rowe and Frewer (2001) addresses the main principles of deliberative democratic processes and therefore was suggested as a test model for adopting in the community tourism planning. The framework had been utilized

in a number of participatory processes in the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada and other countries (Cooper, 2002; Government of Western Australia, 2006; Horlick-Jones, Walls, Rowe, Pidgeon, Poortinga, Murdock & O’Riordan, 2007; Rowe & Frewer, 2000; Rowe & Frewer, 2004; Rowe, Horlick-Jones, Walls & Pidgeon, 2005; Rowe, Horlick-Jones, Walls, Poortinga & Pidgeon, in press; Rowe, Marsh & Frewer, 2004). The main evaluation criteria and guidelines for the effective conduct of a participation exercise are provided in Table 5. Table A1 in Appendix A provides a detailed examination of the process criteria, definitions used, and context and effectiveness requirements.

Table 5.

Evaluation criteria and guidelines for the effective conduct of a participation exercise.

Criteria	Definition
Acceptance criteria (features of a method that make it acceptable to the wider public)	
Representativeness	The participants should comprise a broadly representative sample of the affected population
Independence	The participation process should be conducted in an independent (unbiased) way
Early involvement	The participants should be involved as early as possible in the process, as soon as value judgments become salient/ relevant
Influence	The output of the procedure should have a genuine impact on policy/ project
Transparency	The process should be transparent so that the relevant population can see what is going on and how decisions are being made
Process criteria (features of the process that are liable to ensure that it takes place in an effective manner)	
Resource accessibility	Participants should have access to the appropriate resources to enable them to successfully fulfill their brief
Task definition	The nature and scope of the participation task should be clearly defined
Structured decision making	The participation exercise should use/ provide appropriate mechanisms for structuring and displaying the decision making process
Cost effectiveness	The procedure should in some sense be cost effective from the point of view of the sponsors

Source: Rowe and Frewer (2000).

In addition to the list outlined in Table 5, authors of the framework suggest considering the following indicators of participatory process: (1) accessibility to the decision making process; (2) costs avoided for affected agencies; (3) diversity of citizens represented; (4) diversity of views expressed; (5) expectations met; (6) information

exchange; (7) integration of concerns; (8) interests of all addressed; (9) mutual learning among participants; (10) mutual respect among participants; (11) opportunities for participation; (12) participation time costs for participants; (13) project/ decision acceptability; (14) project/ plan efficiency (duration of process); (15) relationships enhanced, and (16) special needs accommodated. Furthermore, personal communication with one of the authors in regard to the application of the framework in the research process has suggested possible modifications in order to tailor the framework to the specific context of community tourism planning process.

Placing Community Tourism Planning in the Context: The Tourism Area Life Cycle

While the theoretical framework of Rowe, Marsh and Frewer (2001), Rowe, Marsh, Reynolds and Frewer (2001), and Marsh, Rowe and Frewer (2001) addressed the main procedural elements of planning processes, it was just as important for the purposes of this study to place community tourism planning in the context. As communities and tourist destinations change over time, social and political dynamics of their tourism development change as well, directly effecting the specifics of the planning processes devised to develop a tourism product. Review of the tourism literature revealed one model that had been extensively used as an organizing framework for comparison of tourism development in different areas – what first appeared under the name of the “resort cycle,” and later became known as the Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) model (Butler, 2006a, 2006b). Originally developed by Butler (1980) based on the Product Life Cycle and models of wildlife population, it had been applied to understand tourism development stages in destinations all over the world. In a literature survey on the

application of the TALC model in the tourism research, Lagiewski (2006) illustrated the broad range of the TALC uses in studies conducted over a 20-year period of time from 1980 to 2002. Even though most of the studies complied with the model, there were several difficulties and gaps that had to be addressed. Since 1980, tourism researchers worked on operationalizing the model for research purposes (Haywood, 1986), and addressing changes to later (decline and rejuvenation) stages of the model, among others. As the opinions diverged, nevertheless there was a broad consensus that the model on its own is not sufficient for planning purposes (Haywood, 1986). At the same time, its simplicity and ease of use provide a useful tool for comparing tourism development in different destinations (Cooper, 1994; Wall, 1982; Wilkinson, 1996). As the author himself noted, the model “is intuitively appropriate, and provides a conceptual ‘hook’ on which case studies of specific destinations can be ‘hung,’ a rather valuable aid...” (Butler, 2006c, p.23). It is with this in mind that the TALC model was utilized in this study, as a useful descriptive (not prescriptive) tool for analyzing the development of case studies examined. The brief review of the model follows below.

In 1980, Butler argued that there is a consistent pattern of tourist area evolution, with the actual changes and the rates of growth varying from one destination to another. He wrote,

Visitors will come to an area in small numbers initially, restricted by lack of access, facilities, and local knowledge. As facilities are provided and awareness grows, visitor numbers will increase. With marketing, information dissemination, and further facility provision, the area’s popularity will grow rapidly. Eventually, however, the rate of increase in visitor numbers will decline as levels of carrying capacity are reached. As the attractiveness of the area declines relative to other areas, because of overuse and the impacts of visitors, the actual number of visitors may also eventually decline (Butler, 1980, p.6).

Tourist areas, according to Butler (1980), pass several stages of development, namely:

- Exploration stage – characterized by small numbers of tourists; there are no specific facilities developed for the visitors; the social fabric of the communities are unchanged by tourists who do not play any significant role in the local way of life,
- Involvement stage – tourist facilities appear, and the tourist season is more visible; initial attempts at advertising the destination are made,
- Development stage – larger tourist facilities replace previously provided local amenities; noticeable physical changes in the area; tourist numbers during peak seasons equal or excel those of the local residents; decline of local control and involvement in development,
- Consolidation stage – tourism becomes the major component of the local economy; even though the total number of tourists increases, the rate of growth declines; local residents form some sort of opposition to the tourism development,
- Stagnation stage – with the peak number of tourists reached, and capacity levels exceeded, destination experience a number of social, economic and environmental problems, and
- Decline stage – destination is used for short trips, and is no longer “in fashion,” decline of the market, or
- Rejuvenation stage – a destination may enter this stage by adding man-made attractions or tapping into previously not utilized natural resources.

Figure 11 graphically depicts the life cycle of a destination.

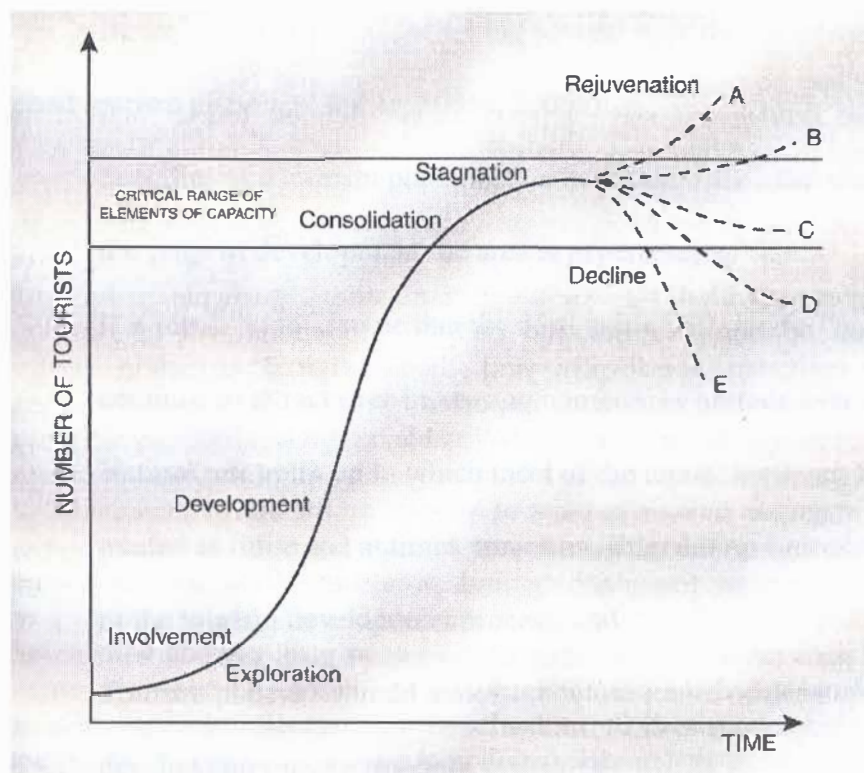


Figure 11. Hypothetical evolution of a tourist area.

Source: Butler, 1980.

Even though there is a consistent pattern of development that can be observed while examining different destinations, Butler (1980) warns that not all areas experience the stages of the cycle in a similar manner, and the role and significance of factors determining the stage of the life cycle, vary from one area to another. For example, carrying capacity levels need not be exceeded for the destination to enter the stagnation stage, and the resident-tourist attitudes are in fact much more complex than the model depicts. The same stands true for citizen involvement in planning – not only does it occur during the initial stages of the development, but the priorities citizenry places on the involvement process are largely determined by the broader contextual factors.

Butler's (1980) TALC model has several important implications for community based tourism planning (Butler, 2006a, 2006b):

- Specifics of a tourism planning at a destination are inadvertently determined by the stage of development the area is experiencing,
- It is incorrect to assume that the destination will remain "fashionable" and will continue to attract ever increasing numbers of tourists over time,
- Natural resources upon which most of the tourist areas are developed, should be treated as finite and at times non-renewable; their protection should be at the core of the tourism development process, and
- Tourism planners should anticipate future stages of development in order to develop appropriate response strategies.

It is with this in mind that the model was utilized in this study – as a conceptual "hook," and as a descriptive tool, placing communities in their specific contexts with regard to the level of tourism development. As examination of the application of the TALC would itself constitute a separate study, it was used here as a secondary tool to seek understanding of the specifics of community based planning processes.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

We ask for a dialogue in travel and tourism research... on the multiple approaches, theories, practices, methods, techniques that can assist those of us in tourism studies to do justice to the research topic and research questions we formulate and pursue (Jamal & Hollinshead, 2001, p.78).

The purpose of this study was to compare and contrast the current practices of citizen involvement in community tourism planning with the framework of deliberative democracy. The goal of this study was to expand the literature on tourism planning which currently lacks a working framework for participatory community tourism planning. The previous chapter argued that the framework of deliberative democracy and planning as communicative action has great potential in guiding the development of a model of participatory community tourism planning. This chapter suggests a research strategy to apply this framework to contribute to the development of such a model.

Timothy (1999) pointed out that currently most of the tourism literature focuses on what should be done, at the expense of building understanding of what is actually being undertaken. This study attempted to reconcile tourism planning practice and theory by drawing from both in order to examine how a theoretical framework of deliberative democracy could be applied in community tourism planning context. Understanding current tourism planning practices can provide the necessary ground for a better understanding of participatory tourism planning phenomenon; in addition, this improved understanding of current tourism planning practices is both necessary and critical before any further recommendations for their improvement can be made.

Since the goal of this study was to contribute to the development of a model of participatory community tourism planning/ recommendations to be adopted by communities and planners, the following conceptual framework was proposed (see Figure 12).

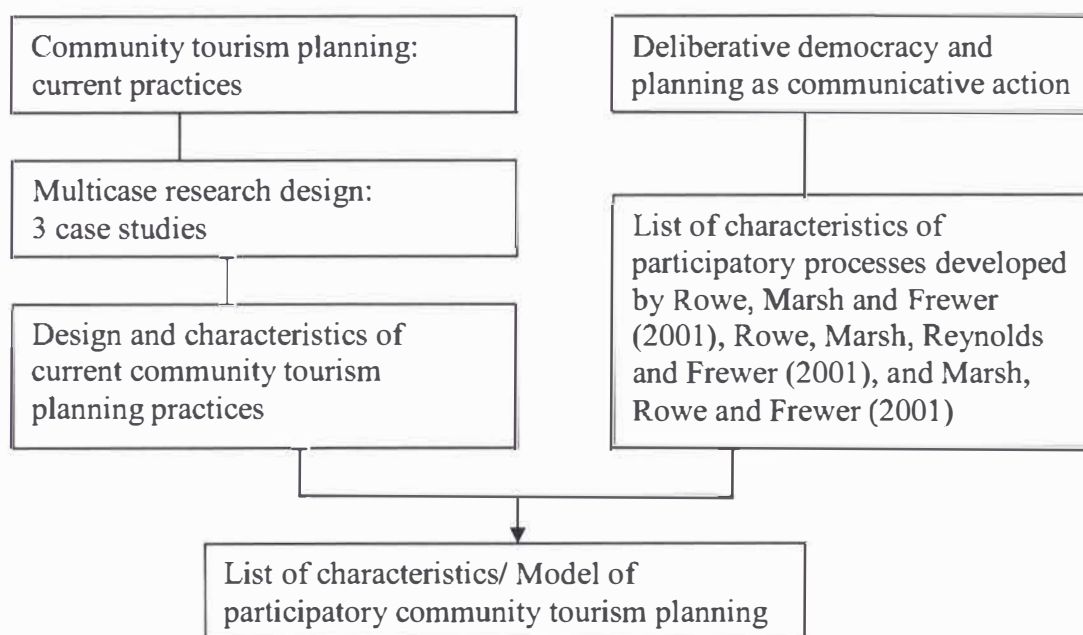


Figure 12. Conceptual framework for the study.

This study, as any other research project, rested on a set of philosophical and paradigmatic assumptions that had be clearly identified prior to formulating research questions and outlining strategies of inquiry, methods of data collection, analysis, and interpretation (Smith & Heshusius, 1986). First and foremost, the focus of this dissertation was on social and human action (planning process), its meaning and interpretation by different parties. Therefore the very nature of the research problem lent itself to qualitative/ interpretive work which is guided by a specific paradigm/ set of

beliefs (Guba, 1990). The following section addresses the main paradigmatic aspects of qualitative research by outlining its ethical, epistemological, ontological, and methodological assumptions (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005a).

Assumptions of the Study Methodology

To know a rose by its Latin name and yet to miss its fragrance is to miss much of the rose's meaning (Eisner, 1981, p.9).

By epistemology we usually refer to the view of the origins of knowledge and the relationship between the researcher and the known. While positivists believe that knowledge exists out there to be discovered, interpretivists argue that there are no universal truths; while the former believe that knowledge can be derived by reasoning or experience, the latter argue that knowledge is a socially created phenomenon, therefore there is no such a thing as value-free knowledge, or what Putnam (1981) called a "God's eye" point of view. In Kuhn's words all descriptions are theory-laden, therefore we see the world from our specific place in it – what Gadamer (1975) calls "effective history." Gadamer (1975) writes,

Understanding is always interpretation, and it means to use one's own preconceptions so that the meaning of the object can really be made to speak to us (p.358).

Ontological debates usually revolve around the questions of the nature of reality/ phenomenon under investigation. As with epistemology, the worldviews of positivists and interpretivists on this issue could not be any more distinct. In few words, positivism and hence quantitative research largely rest upon assumption of an independently existing reality waiting out there to be "discovered" through the research process. On the other hand, interpretivism and hence qualitative research emphasizes existence of multiple

realities that are being constantly (re)constructed through the historical process of human interactions (adapted from Gallagher, 1995). With no reality out there to adjudicate the claims, interpretivists shift the focus to what Dilthey and Weber define as “Verstehen,” or understanding human experiences and meanings they assign to their actions, in context (in Smith, 1983).

Epistemological and ontological differences between the two research paradigms are usually illustrated with metaphors of “finding” (“discovery”) versus “constructing” (“making”). Smith (1983) offers yet another way to distinguish qualitative research from its quantitative counterpart – through the lens of (1) relationship of investigator to what is investigated; (2) relationship between facts and values in the process of investigation, and (3) the goal of investigation. In regard to the relationship of the researcher to what is being researched, realists back their work by the subject-object dualism (Rorty’s [1979] metaphor of “mind as the mirror of nature”) and the correspondence theory of truth (view that truth is correspondence to a fact/ reality), while interpretivists point out that there exist no theory-free knowledge and we know the world from our “effective history.” In regard to the relationship between facts and values (a long standing question of objectivity), realists argue that facts can be known in an unbiased way since they exist independently of the researcher, while interpretivists believe that objectivity is simply a matter of agreement based on justification or persuasion (Smith, 1983), and that “there is no court of appeal beyond dialogue and persuasion” (Smith & Heshusius, 1986, p.11). In seeking objectivity, positivists resort to method as being value-free, while interpretivists embrace Gadamer’s (1975) notion that truth cannot be adequately explained by method, and therefore emphasize the meaningfulness of research grounded in human values.

Finally, in regard to the goals of research, while the focus of positivism has been on explaining, predicting and therefore controlling, interpretivists have envisioned inquiry as serving the role of making meanings of the social phenomenon.

Denzin and Lincoln (2005b) pointed out that every epistemology requires an ethical and moral stance toward the world and the researcher herself. It was not the intention of this dissertation to convince the reader that one paradigm is superior to the other, but rather to elaborate how the purpose of the study and its research questions lent themselves to interpretive inquiry. It had been argued by others that we engage in methodology in order to obtain results/ answer research questions. Method in this view serves as the best means for acquiring knowledge about the world (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005b). To this end, this study recognized that the reality of community tourism planning did not exist out there but was rather (re)constructed by its participants; that each of them interpreted the process according to their historical, cultural and social background, experiences and social interactions (e.g. there exist multiple realities); it recognized that the researcher could not stand neutral above the context and observe the facts, but rather co-created her interpretations together with research participants, learnt with and from them, built relationships, and inevitably made moral and ethical judgments (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). In qualitative research, the researcher becomes the instrument, making sense of personal stories and tolerating ambiguity, while attempting to understand and interpret multiple perspectives and complexity of social interactions (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). This study assumed the role of researcher as meaning maker, interpreter and learner who was socially situated in a context and engaged in a value-laden inquiry process. In search for meanings and interpretations, this study adhered to interpretivism,

constructivism, and hermeneutics. By doing so it took on the challenge of Gadamer's (1975) "philosophical hermeneutics" emphasizing understanding as the pathway to meaning. The reader might recall an earlier reference to Aristotle's "phronesis" which reappears in Gadamer's (1975) focus on dialogue "in the attempt to arrive at a mutual understanding of the meanings and intentions that stand behind each other's expressions" (Smith, 1993, p.198).

In conclusion, this study responded to the call of Jamal and Hollinshead (2001) to address what they believed was an "underserved power of qualitative inquiry" in tourism studies. Today, they wrote, "traditional research approaches are being challenged by critical and interpretive scholars seeking a more meaningful experience and understanding of the text and context of their study" (Jamal & Hollinshead, 2001, p.78). They further called for a dialogue on the multiple approaches that would most appropriately address research topics and research questions formulated. This study responded to this call by showcasing, yet again, that good qualitative research in tourism is possible and is needed, if we were to gain a deeper understanding of the processes and phenomena we wish to examine.

With epistemological, ontological, and methodological assumptions set and clear, the following sections focus on choosing the appropriate strategy of the inquiry and methods of data collection, analysis, and interpretation.

Research Process

This study addressed the following research objectives: (1) to identify and describe current practices and examples of participatory community tourism planning; (2)

to compare and contrast identified practices with the framework of deliberative democracy and planning as communicative action, and (3) to contribute to the development of a model of participatory community tourism planning that would incorporate existing tourism planning practices and theoretical principles of deliberative democracy.

The main characteristics of deliberative democratic processes outlined by Rowe, Marsh and Frewer (2001), Rowe, Marsh, Reynolds and Frewer (2001), and Marsh, Rowe and Frewer (2001) guided research questions for this study. More specifically, this study sought answers to the following research questions: (1) to what extent did current practices of participatory community tourism planning in selected communities align with the evaluative framework of participatory processes developed by Rowe, Marsh and Frewer (2001), Rowe, Marsh, Reynolds and Frewer (2001), and Marsh, Rowe and Frewer (2001)?; (2) to what extent did the selected communities differ from one another with regard to the evaluative framework of participatory processes developed by Rowe, Marsh and Frewer (2001), Rowe, Marsh, Reynolds and Frewer (2001), and Marsh, Rowe and Frewer (2001)?; (3) what were the similarities between the selected communities and the framework developed by Rowe, Marsh and Frewer (2001), Rowe, Marsh, Reynolds and Frewer (2001), and Marsh, Rowe and Frewer (2001)?, and (4) could a model of participatory community tourism planning that would incorporate existing tourism planning practices and theoretical principles of deliberative democracy (Rowe, Marsh & Frewer [2001], Rowe, Marsh, Reynolds & Frewer [2001], and Marsh, Rowe & Frewer [2001] framework) be developed?

Both research objectives and research questions indicated that the main focus of this study was twofold – to gain an in-depth understanding of participatory community tourism planning processes and their meaning for those involved, and to use this understanding to make further recommendations for the improvement of these processes. This suggested a double focus on improving tourism planning practice as well as expanding the tourism planning literature.

Review of the literature and previous studies suggested the case study approach as the most applicable to address the research questions of this dissertation. Merriam (1988) recommended a case study approach for addressing problems in which understanding is sought in order to improve practice, for this understanding can have influence on policy, practice and further research. Yin (1994, p.1) wrote that case studies “are the preferred strategy when “how” or “why” questions are being posed.” Stake (2006) added that the case study is not so much a methodological choice but rather a choice of object to be studied. Guba and Lincoln (1981, p.375) envisioned case studies as “literary, perhaps even artistic processes.” In the planning literature, Selin and Beason (1991a) noted that a case study research would be particularly appropriate in examining the dynamic process-oriented nature of collaborative planning.

Drawing from Louis Smith, Stake (1995) defined the case as a *bounded system* and called for “learning all of the case out to its boundaries, tracking its issues, pursuing its patterns of complexity” (p.2). While emphasizing the need to study both particularity and complexity of each case, he offered the following typology of case studies, noting that the choice would depend on the research question asked: (1) intrinsic case study – the goal is to better understand a particular case; (2) instrumental case study – the goal is

to provide an insight into an issue; a specific case plays a supportive role towards understanding of a larger phenomenon, and (3) multiple case studies/ collective case studies – the goal is to better understand a larger phenomenon using selection of cases with the premise that “understanding them will lead to better understanding, and perhaps better theorizing, about a still larger collection of cases” (Stake, 2005, p.446). Herriott and Firestone (1983) added that *multicase research* was particularly applicable to policy studies and description of complex programs.

Merriam (1988) outlined a slightly different typology of case studies: (1) descriptive – the focus is on *thick description* of the phenomenon (adapted from Geertz, 1973); (2) interpretive – the goal is to illustrate, support, or challenge theoretical assumptions, and (3) evaluative – involve description, explanation, and judgment.

Following Stake’s (1995, 2005, 2006) and Merriam’s (1998) typologies, this study adopted a multicase evaluative research design. More specifically, it focused on examination of three separate cases of community tourism planning efforts (in Dubuque, Iowa, Hood River, Oregon, and Ucluelet, British Columbia), in order to understand the broader phenomenon of community tourism planning, while not losing sight of the unusual and the ordinary of each specific case. As Stake (1995, p.43) eloquently pointed out, “the function of research is not necessarily to map and conquer the world but to sophisticate the beholding of it. ‘Thick descriptions,’ ‘experiential understanding,’ and ‘multiple realities’ are expected in qualitative case studies.”

Recognizing inherent subtleties of this mode of inquiry, it should be noted here that the multicase research design of this dissertation departed from the prescribed methodological approach of Yin (1994, p.xiv) who wished to “disentangle the case study

as a research tool from...ethnographies and participant-observation, and “qualitative” methods.” In an attempt to address case study design as a scientific method, Yin (1984, 1994) brought experimental psychology background to advocate a predominantly quantitative and quasi-experimental case study approach. This emphasis on generalizing outcomes rather than on understanding the uniqueness of each separate case had also appeared in the work of Denzin (1989), Glaser and Strauss (1967), Herriott and Firestone (1983), along with Yin (1984, 1994). Since it was not the purpose of this study to produce generalizable outcomes, it parted with these authors here. The following discussion of the case study research was therefore mainly (but not solely) drawn from Stake (1995, 2005, 2006), and Guba and Lincoln (1981, 1989).

Having identified the purpose of the study, research questions, and strategy of inquiry, the next step was to select cases. The following sections outline the process used to identify and select case studies for this dissertation project, methods of data collection, and processes used for interpreting study materials and developing assertions.

Selection of Case Studies

Cases for this study were selected based on recommendations of a panel of experts, review of pertinent literature, as well as logistics of the data collection process. The selection process was undertaken in four steps:

1. Identifying and contacting a panel of experts.

A panel of 35 experts (eventually the list was expanded to include their colleagues, former students, and other researchers) was identified using the following criteria: (a) established reputation in the field of specialization; (b) professional experience of

working with residents, planners, business and government officials on research and/ or consultancy projects; (c) membership in renown national and/ or international tourism organizations, and (d) engagement in theoretical and applied research; presenting one's work at national and/ or international conferences. Panel members were contacted via mail, e-mail, and phone, with a request to identify relevant cases of recent tourism planning efforts in communities across North America that would warrant investigation in terms of citizen involvement. Following Stake's (2006) assertion that for multicase research the cases need to be similar in some ways, the following selection criteria were identified: (a) North American context (to include U.S.A. and Canada); (b) rural or urban communities with population up to 75,000 (per U.S. Census or Census Canada); (c) tourism as a major contributor to the local economy (per U.S. Census or Census Canada); (d) community tourism planning process took place within the last 10 years; (e) participatory community tourism process that would warrant an investigation in terms of citizen involvement (based on panel recommendations); (f) tourism planning process exemplified a best practice or a failed process (based on panel recommendations); (g) tourism planning process was well documented, and (h) availability of contact information for further contact (based on panel recommendations).

2. Reviewing panel recommendations.

Panel members suggested cases of over 30 communities in different parts of North America. Their recommendations were reviewed in order to determine logistics of the data collection process (in terms of budget, distance, access to and quality of public records, and availability of contact person); this eliminated most of these communities from the very beginning.

3. Initial selection of case studies.

Several case studies were selected for further examination; initial contacts were established in these communities, and public records were examined to gather preliminary information about their planning processes. Cases examined in further details included Dubuque (Iowa), Traverse City (Michigan), Jackson Hole (Wyoming), West Yellowstone and Red Lodge (Montana), Leavenworth (Washington), Bandon, Cascade Locks, Mosier, and Hood River (Oregon), and Ucluelet and Tofino (British Columbia). Extensive review of public and media records, as well as communication with local planners, administrators, and researchers who had been involved in research and service in these communities, indicated logistic difficulties of conducting research in several locations.

4. Final selection of case studies.

Final selection of case studies was narrowed down to three communities – Dubuque (Iowa), Hood River (Oregon), and Ucluelet (British Columbia). These communities were at different stages in developing their tourism product and exhibited unique features of their planning processes that would add to the depth of the study; furthermore, the key players and community residents were enthusiastic and willing to participate in the study, and there was an abundance of public records. Finally, logistics of the research process facilitated community visits and data collection and analysis.

Methods of Data Collection

Ideally...the qualitative researcher draws on some combination of techniques to collect research data, rather than a single technique. ...the more sources tapped for understanding, the more believable the findings (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992, p.24).

In their discussion of responsive evaluation, Guba and Lincoln (1981) emphasized the use of interviews, observations, and analysis of documents and records as data sources. In a similar manner, case study research often involves interviewing, observing, and analyzing documents and records (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005b). Stake (2005) stressed that qualitative case study is characterized by “researchers spending extended time on site, personally in contact with activities and operations of the case, reflecting, and revisiting descriptions and meanings of what is going on” (p.450). By doing so qualitative researchers act as “bricoleurs” and “quilt makers” by assembling different voices, perspectives and points of view (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005b), while focusing on the unusual and the ordinary, especially if the purpose is to enable further cross-case analysis. The interpretive bricoleur “understands that research is an interactive process shaped by his or her personal history, biography, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity, and by those of the people in the setting” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005b, p.6), and therefore she often tailors the instrument to the specific context (Stake, 2005), with the ultimate purpose to gain a deeper understanding of the phenomenon under investigation.

Denzin and Lincoln (2005b) argued that qualitative research is inherently multimethod in nature. In a similar manner, this study utilized three main methods of data collection including: (1) analysis of administrative, planning and legal documents and records, as well as census data, media reports, and others; (2) phone and face-to-face interviews (both formal and informal) with tourism planners, developers, researchers, university and college students, and residents who had first-hand experience participating in community tourism planning processes, and (3) observations to support/ improve

interpretations of the interview findings (Angrosino, 2005). Selection of methods for this case study was done using two strategies: (1) as dictated by the purpose of the study and research questions, and (2) as derived from the review of methodologies of a selection of participatory planning studies (see Table 6). Among cases reviewed, 39% utilized interviews, 22% reviewed documents and public records, another 22% used a survey instrument, 15% utilized participant observations, and 2% carried out participant workshops. Each of the methods of data collection is further discussed below.

Table 6.

Methodological matrix of participatory planning studies.

Author, year	Case study site	INT	DOC	OBS	SRV*
Aas et al., 2005	Luang Prabang, Laos	x			x
Bahaire & Elliott-White, 1999	York, UK	x	x		
Beatley et al., 1994	Texas, USA				x
Berke et al., 1996	6 states, USA		x		
Blackstock, 2005	Port Douglas, Australia	x	x	x	x
Bramwell & Sharman, 1999	UK	x	x		
Brody et al., 2003	10 states, USA	x	x		x
Burby, 2003	2 states, USA	x	x		
Buttom & Mattson	USA	x		x	
Center for Collaborative Policy	California, USA	x	x	x	x
Cooke, 1982	British Columbia, CA	x	x		
Crewe, 200x	Massachusetts, USA	x	x		
Dowling, 1993	Shark Bay, Australia	x			x
Filner, 2001	Minnesota, USA		x		
Hanna, 2000	Vancouver, CA	x	x		x
Harrill & Potts, 2003	South Carolina, USA	x			
Healey & Hillier, 1996	Perth, Western Australia	x	x	x	
Helling, 1998	Georgia, USA	x			x
Hibbard & Lurie, 2000	Wyoming, USA	x	x		
Hibbard & Karle, 2002	Western USA	x	x		x
Hibbard & Madsen, 2003	Selection	x	x		
Innes, 1996	California, USA	x	x	x	
Innes & Booher, 1999	California, USA			x	
Jamal, 1997	Canmore, Canada	x	x	x	
Julian et al, 1997	Ohio, USA				x
Kathlene & Martin, 1991	Colorado, USA	x			x
Kelshaw, 2002	Selection	x		x	
Keogh, 1990	New Brunswick, Canada	x			

(table continues)

Author, year	Case study site	INT	DOC	OBS	SRV*
King et al., 1998	Ohio, USA	x			
Krantz, 2003	--	x		x	
Ladkin & Bertramini, 2002	Peru	x			
Leach, 2004	2 states, USA	x			x
Lewis, 1998	Indiana, USA	x	x		
Li, 2006	China	x	x	x	
Lowry et al., 1997	Hawaii, USA			x	
Lukasik, 2002	--	x		x	x
Madrigal, 1993	Arizona, USA		x		
Madrigal, 1995	Arizona, USA; York, UK		x		
Mair et al., 2005	--	x			
Margerum, 2002	USA and Australia	x	x	x	x
Mintrom, 2003	Michigan, USA	x	x		
Mitchell & Eagles, 2001	Peru	x	x	x	x
Murray & Greer, 2002	Northern Ireland		x		x
Prentice, 1993	Yorkshire, UK	x			
Reed, 1997, 2000	Squamish, CA	x	x	x	x
Reid et al, 2004	Ontario, CA	x	x		x
Rohe & Gates, 1986	--	x	x		
Rowe et al., 2004	UK	x	x		
Rowe et al., 2005	UK		x		x
Selin & Beason, 1991	Arkansas, USA	x			
Simmons, 1994	Ontario, CA	x	x		
Tauxe, 1995	North Dakota, USA	x		x	x
Timothy, 1998, 1999	Indonesia	x	x	x	
Tosun, 2006	Urgup, Turkey	x	x		
Vajjhala, 2005	Selection	x	x		
Verba et al., 1993	USA	x			
Weeks et al., 1992	Oregon, USA	x	x	x	
Williams et al., 1998	Vancouver, CA	x		x	x
Wolfe, 1991	Illinois, USA	x		x	x

* INT= interviews; DOC =document analysis; OBS= observations ; SRV= questionnaire surveys.

Interviews are often being described as the art of asking questions and listening, as a “what else” or “tell me more” endeavor (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992; Stake, 2005). We ask about things we cannot see or experience, and in return obtain others’ interpretations of events or their experiences. Interviews for this study were conducted in a semi-structured manner, both phone and face-to-face, in order to gain respondents’ perspectives and interpretations of the planning process in their respective communities. The purpose of each interview was twofold – to help the researcher reconstruct the planning process as it happened in a specific community, and to improve an understanding of complexities of the context in which the process occurred (Fontana & Frey, 1994, 2005). The researcher assumed the role of researcher as a researcher and as a learner. As Glesne and Peshkin (1992) noted, as a researcher you learn from and with participants, and as a learner you listen, while as an expert you talk. Following selection of case studies, initial contacts were made in order to probe the ground and setup interviews. From there, the researcher used a snowball method and her personal judgment in selecting further interviewees (e.g. the names that appeared in public records). The list of names, times, locations, and duration of interviews were recorded; most of the interviews were recorded (later transcribed) and documented with extensive and detailed notes; post-interview and observational notes were taken following a number of informal conversations about the project (details of the data collection for each community are provided in the following chapter). In addition, the researcher was keeping a reflective field log recording her impressions and interpretations (Fontana & Frey, 1994, 2005; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992).

Interview guide was established using evaluation criteria and guidelines for the effective conduct of a participation exercise developed by Rowe, Marsh and Frewer (2001) and Rowe, Marsh, Reynolds and Frewer (2001); however, it was used only as a supporting tool in guiding free-flowing and open conversations. To improve interpretations of the data, observations were used to further support findings of the interviews (Angrosino, 2005).

Finally, this study utilized analysis of administrative, planning and legal documents and records (including previous studies, census data, media reports, and other written texts). Among many analytical techniques available for analysis of text, Perakyla (2005) outlined the following as the most commonly used: (1) (historical) discourse analysis – uncovering linguistic features of the text; (2) membership categorization analysis – analysis of the normative and cognitive forms forming social relations that are involved in the text, and (3) conversation analysis – a study of the structure and social process of human interaction. He suggested taking an informal approach to analysis of talk and text, especially when document analysis is not at the core of the research but rather plays a complementary role.

While interviews and observations improved interpretations of the data, analysis of documents and public records provided a better understanding of the context in which participatory tourism planning process occurred. Finally, the researcher kept descriptive and analytic field notes, as well as a field log (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992) to help improve interpretations and assertions.

Ethical Considerations

Fontana and Frey (2005) cautioned qualitative researchers to be aware of the implications, pitfalls, and problems of the types of interviews they choose. They specifically discussed three ethical concerns that arise during the interview process, among them (1) informed consent; (2) right to privacy, and (3) protection from harm. In response to these threats, this study adhered to the notion put forward by Smith (1992) that qualitative research is as much practical as it is a moral activity. As Denzin and Lincoln (2005b) noted, research is power for all research findings have political implications (compare to Bacon's assertion that knowledge is power). In essence, both these arguments reflect the one of Foucault (1975) who warned of the controlling power of the method through exercising what he called a "normalizing gaze" or "normalizing judgment." Foucault (1975) argued that our understanding/ insights of individuals we observe can be used to categorize/ label, constrain, and homogenize them. Recognizing the art and politics of inquiry as well as consequences of interpretations and assertions made, this study attempted to avoid what Adler and Adler (1994) referred to as a "disguised research."

Addressing ethical considerations for the purposes of this study, the researcher: (1) formally completed necessary Institutional Review Board (IRB) applications, and (2) adhered to the ethical suggestions outlined above.

Interpretation of the Data and Assertions

Interpreter in the field... records objectively what is happening but simultaneously examines its meaning and redirects observation to refine or substantiate those meanings... The aim is to thoroughly understand (Stake, 1995, pp.8-9).

Ultimately, merit and worth of any research lie in its interpretations and assertions. Interpretations of this study aimed on reconstructing the processes of community tourism planning in three communities in order to gain an understanding of the process design and its meaning to participants. Therefore the goal of interpretations was not only on providing what Geertz (1973) called “thick descriptions,” but also on exploring and evaluating the context of the process and characteristics of the process itself as embedded in research questions. Stake (2006) argued that in multicase research, each case has to be examined in its complexity, while at the same time the interest should remain “on the collection of cases or on the phenomenon exhibited in those cases” (p.vi). In other words, prior to making any “grand” or “petite” generalizations of findings, the researcher should come to terms with the responsibility that such interpretations and assertions will carry.

Among several techniques suggested for assessing “trustworthiness” of qualitative research, triangulation and member checking are the two most widely discussed in the literature. Guba and Lincoln (1981) and Glesne and Peshkin (1992) recommend using triangulation in order to combine multiple perspectives to meanings and interpretations. For multicase research, Stake (2006) recommends using triangulation within and across cases by engaging in discussions with “insiders” and “outsiders” of the process. While acknowledging the place of triangulation and member checking in qualitative inquiry,

this study nevertheless adhered to the notion put forward by Smith J. (1984) who contended that member checking can lead to the vicious circle of (re)interpretation with no point where one can stop and say “I have got it correctly.” Gallagher (1995) further added that “member checking, although useful for expanding or broadening analysis, does nothing to ensure the trustworthiness or validity of one’s results” (p.29). With this in mind, this study considered triangulation (specifically, investigator and methodological triangulation) as additional tools for inquiry (adding another perspective to consider), not as pathways to understanding. As Stake (2005) pointed out, case study researchers work with “descriptions, interpretations, opinions and feelings, all mixed together” (p.454), and therefore this study recognized that while seeking to understand the (re)constructed reality of community tourism planning, the researcher inadvertently engaged in co-creating interpretations and making moral and ethical judgments.

Now, to the question of what criteria should be used to judge the quality of case study/ multicase research. Discussions around the issue of criteria remained one of the most heated in qualitative literature. The argument of Yin (1994) who lightly applied construct validity, internal validity, external validity, and reliability to case study research, had been fiercely criticized and refuted. In search for an alternative, Hammersley (1990) spoke of validity (in terms of plausibility and credibility) and relevance (to the practice), and Maxwell (1992) outlined five aspects of validity – descriptive, interpretive, theoretical, generalizability, and evaluative. Both authors unwittingly called for external reality to adjudicate their arguments (if plausibility, credibility, and validity depict reality, there should be brutal facts out there to adjudicate the argument), but have however failed to elaborate how the value-laden knowledge can

keep values and facts separate. In response, Smith and Deemer (2000) suggested embracing uncertainty and interpretivism (while cautioning not to confuse the latter with the “anything goes” approach), while assuming moral responsibility for making and substantiating our judgments. They further advocated the view of criteria not as a checklist of prescribed standards but rather as a set of characteristics, time and place contingent, that are “open, evolving over time, always in flux, and resist full articulation” (p.889). If in essence qualitative researchers are only (re)constructing other’s realities, they should realize and embrace the full responsibility their actions and assertions entail. As Stake (2005) pointed out, in our assertions we should not only “expect [our] readers to comprehend [our] interpretations but to arrive, as well, at their own” (p.450). Gallagher (1995) referred to this as a study’s “believability” and further explained that it “does not mean that one applied method accurately; it means that one accounts for his or herself honestly and with integrity so that the readers can judge the believability of the work” (pp.32-33). In a similar manner, the case fieldwork for this dissertation study involved an ongoing reading, reflecting, and doing research (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992) to further enrich interpretations and help produce believable assertions, recognizing that the final outcome was going to be a “hidden mix of personal experience, scholarship, and assertions of other researchers” (Stake, 1995, p.12).

This chapter opened with the call for more and better qualitative research in tourism. In response to this call, this study adhered to assumptions of the interpretive paradigm, including assumptions of the socially constructed nature of reality and the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005b). Emphasizing the value-laden nature of inquiry, this study focused on seeking

meanings and understanding of participatory community tourism planning processes, rather than on grand generalizations (Stake, 2006). The researcher took a direct, candid and open-minded approach to working with ambiguity while sorting through descriptions, interpretations, opinions and feelings of study participants in an attempt to produce the best possible interpretations of participatory tourism planning processes.

CHAPTER 4

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

The purpose of this study was to compare and contrast the current practices of citizen involvement in community tourism planning with the framework of deliberative democracy. The goal of this study was to expand the literature on tourism planning which currently lacks a working framework for participatory community tourism planning. While previous chapters examined theoretical concepts and constructs of citizen participation in community planning, this chapter illustrates practices of community tourism planning in three communities – Dubuque (Iowa), Hood River (Oregon), and Ucluelet (British Columbia). While contextually different, the planning processes in these communities pursued diverse goals as to their tourism development; while all three communities viewed tourism as a means of economic development, their planning processes illustrated a broad range of approaches shaped by community values and beliefs. For Dubuque, riverfront development offered a way to reinvent the region as a tourist destination; for Hood River, riverfront development offered a way to attract value-added industries to diversify the city's economy from overrelying on tourism; for Ucluelet, oceanfront development was seen as a control tool to shape the area's preferred future. Planning and development processes in these communities stirred different public emotions – from euphoria, to open opposition, to cautious concerns. Using historical records, media reports, as well as in-depth interviews and observations, this chapter examines these processes through the eyes of their participants, seeking answers to what actually happened and why.

Data Collection and Analysis Procedures

Fieldwork and data collection for this study were guided by two broad objectives:

(1) understanding contexts in which planning processes occurred in Dubuque, Hood River, and Ucluelet, and (2) understanding planning processes within their contexts.

There was no single “rubber stamp” approach to be consistently used in all three communities; on the contrary, the specifics of each place largely dictated the way data collection tools were utilized (details of data collection procedures for each of the three communities are discussed later in this chapter). In general, data collection for this study involved extensive review of historical, administrative, legal and planning documents (including previous studies and printed media), as well as in-depth interviews with and observations of stakeholders and key players in the processes who all shared deep passion for their respective communities, yet adhered to unique worldviews and hence possessed very strong opinions, values and beliefs. These passions, emotions, and enthusiasm made it difficult at times to refrain from passing personal judgments and/ or taking sides, as the researcher tried to constantly remind herself of the need to maintain a “neutral” position. To avoid potential biases, interview notes were compared with observational notes, and other researchers and planners were consulted with regard to their perceptions of the processes.

As all land use projects, processes examined in this study proved to be both value laden and highly political. The latter was especially apparent in Hood River and Ucluelet, as both small communities had undergone processes with a lot at stake. The political nature of the planning processes created another challenge for the researcher, as she was attempting not to “step on anyone’s toes” and remain an observer. Previous studies of a

similar nature pointed out that conducting interviews in small communities “poses particular challenges for maintaining the confidentiality on which participation may depend” (Hanna, 2005, p.30). Thus it was not surprising that a few potential respondents refused to be interviewed or recorded, and at times the presence of a “veil of suspicion” over the researcher was obvious. Some respondents expected to hear the researcher’s comments/ agreement with their views, and maintaining “neutrality” in those cases was difficult. Those who agreed to be interviewed, were ensured of complete anonymity and confidentiality; assurance that none of the information would be quoted in a way that would lead to person’s identification was necessary to get people to speak freely. To this end, all of the names used in this chapter, are pseudonyms, and some of the names at times had been deliberately omitted from the text in order to make it impossible to identify the respondents.

Even though there were specific questions to guide the interviews, most conversations were free flowing and open ended, and often went well beyond the time or subject area. Discussions touched upon the topics of politics, environmental and land use policies and attitudes, as well as general worldviews. Specifics of each process were also reflected in the way discussions progressed: in Dubuque, study participants were more willing to talk about achievements and successes rather than about failures and things going wrong, whereas in Hood River and Ucluelet, respondents’ views ranged broadly. The next chapter will examine why this occurred, by placing each process in the specific social, political and economic context.

The section that follows will overview three distinct planning processes – “America’s River” planning process in Dubuque (Iowa), Waterfront Park planning in

Hood River (Oregon), and Official Community Planning and Ucluelet/ Weyerhaeuser comprehensive development planning in Ucluelet (British Columbia). The context of the each process and the key players involved will be discussed prior to initial interpretations of collected data.

Case Study 1: “America’s River” at the Port of Dubuque (Dubuque, Iowa)

(See Appendix B for a collection of maps of the State of Iowa, the City of Dubuque, and “America’s River” at the Port of Dubuque).

The Context: “Masterpiece on the Mississippi”

The City of Dubuque is located on 26 square miles on the bluffs of the Mississippi River, at the junction of three states – Iowa, Wisconsin, and Illinois. Together with Platteville county (Wisconsin) and Galena county (Illinois), Dubuque county forms a region known as the “tri-state area” with a population of 175,000 residents. The City of Dubuque was named after its first permanent settler – a French-Canadian fur trader and lead miner Julien Dubuque, who lived in the area from 1785 to 1810 along with the Meskwaki Indians. The city was officially chartered in 1833, designated as the Iowa Territory in 1838, and included in the State of Iowa in 1846.

As the eighth-largest and the oldest city in the state of Iowa, Dubuque is well known for its Victorian architecture and natural beauty, and is often referred to as the “key city,” the “city of five flags,” and a “gateway to Iowa.” In 2006, the population of Dubuque was estimated at 57,696 (Dubuque county accounted for a population of 92,384). Residents of Dubuque are mostly of Irish and German heritage (96.2%), with a small representation of Hispanic (1.6%) and African Americans (1.2%) (U.S. Census

Bureau, 2000a). In 2000, there were 22,560 households and 14,303 families living in the city, and 67.5% of the residents reported owning a home. In 1999, the median household income in Dubuque was \$36,785, the median family income was \$46,564, and the per capita income for the city was \$19,616. About 5.5% of families and 9.5% of the population were below the poverty line (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000a). The majority of Dubuque residents fall within the age category of 25 to 64, with the median age being 37 years. According to various sources, 65-85% of city residents are Catholic, and the percentage is even higher in rural areas.

Historically, the city was built upon lead mining, agriculture, timber and log milling, meat packing, boat building, brewing, railroads, education, and manufacturing (Wilkie, 1987). In recent years, Dubuque has reinvented itself as a popular tourism destination that sees over 1,500,000 visitors a year. With diversified and fast growing tourism, high technology, and publishing sectors, a transformed riverfront and restored downtown district, six higher education institutions, a monastery, and a number of motherhouses, the city hosts a number of businesses small and large, and civic and nonprofit organizations. Between 2002 and 2005, Dubuque ranked second in the state of Iowa among major cities for job growth; even though Dubuque County holds only 3% of the state population, it accounted for 10% of the new private sector jobs created in the entire state over the same period of time. In 2005, the city had the 22nd fastest job growth rate in the United States, outpacing the rest of cities in Iowa and other Midwestern states.

Back in eighties, things looked different for this rivertown. The city had no four-lane connection, and changes in manufacturing, coupled with the farm crisis of the time, had negatively affected its economy, causing double-digit unemployment. Having all its

eggs in two baskets (Deere and Company equipment construction, and the Dubuque Packing Company) was economically unfortunate for Dubuque. Between 1980 and 1990, the city lost 7.8% of its population, the average real estate value fell by 9%, the property tax rate had reached \$14.58 per thousand, and the unemployment rate averaged 8.9%, reaching a high of 23% in January 1982. With mass exodus of residents and businesses (what John Norquist called the “doughnut effect”), it was not uncommon to hear the sarcastic comment, “the last one out of Dubuque, please turn off the lights.”

In search for alternatives, a group of community activists got together to advocate on the state level for the greyhound dog race track; their arguments were further supported by a feasibility study emphasizing that success of this venture would be supported by the growth of tourism in neighboring Galena, Illinois (at that time Galena was seeing a million tourists annually). Following a referendum in 1985, Dubuque got the first pari-mutuel gambling license in the state of Iowa. Four years later, in 1989, the state of Iowa passed the first riverboat casino legislation in the U.S., and the Dubuque Racing Association became the first applicant approved to operate a river gambling boat in the state (World Casino Directory, 2008). The dog track and the riverboat casino both proved to be beneficial for the city: today, millions of dollars in proceeds from the dog track support city government and nonprofits in the area; according to various sources, about 60% of the city’s operational budget comes from gaming revenues.

Simultaneously with gaming initiatives, in 1985 Dubuque Main Street joined five other communities to become one of the pilot Urban Main Street programs, hoping to revitalize its downtown area. Starting with the first floor vacancy rate of over 55%, now over twenty years in operation, Dubuque Main Street prides itself for reducing the first

floor vacancy rate to 10%, creating 1,923 jobs, as well as attracting construction in downtown of \$119 million, building rehabilitations of over \$77 million, façade renovations of near \$6 million, public improvements of over \$35 million, and generating real estate sales of near \$92 million (City of Dubuque, 2006).

Meanwhile, the City of Dubuque initiated a “Vision 2000” process (shortly after followed by a “Vision Downtown,” and Port of Dubuque Master Planning processes). Over two years, the “Vision 2000” attracted over 5,000 residents to work on a shared vision statement for the tri-state area. The final product included long range planning statements regarding economic development, education, transportation, environment, cultural and recreational opportunities, leadership, community attitudes, and racial/ ethnic diversity. In 1994-1995, building on these statements, the City of Dubuque adopted its Comprehensive Plan that incorporated policies, goals and objectives for physical, economic and social development aspects of the community. The role and importance of this plan in setting the path for Dubuque is difficult to overestimate: prior to the 1990s, the city’s last Comprehensive Plan was developed in 1936. Moreover, for the first time in Dubuque planning history both documents jointly reflected a community vision of the waterfront as a resource for recreational opportunities instead of industrial uses. The documented community vision closely resembled the core principles of what came to be known as the *Cool Cities* model, advocating, among others, mixed use waterfront development. Coupled with the principles of “smart growth,” these plans supported the initial idea of redeveloping and beautifying the riverfront.

Having free public access to the waterfront constitutes common sense for many communities. At the same time, free public access to the waterfront has often been

prevented by industry, commerce, and/ or private property laws. Traditionally used for transportation, warehousing and industry, waterfronts around the country have become a bone of contention as more and more communities envision them as places for recreation, enjoyment, and tourism.

For many decades the riverfront in Dubuque has been underutilized property, empty abandoned fields with weeds, piles of sawdust and riprap, several warehouses, a 30 feet high floodwall, and the Dubuque Star Brewery which operated until the early 1990s. Between the brewery and the downtown section of Dubuque, also known as the Port of Dubuque/ Ice Harbor/ 4th Street Peninsula/ Riverfront, there was nothing. It was not until the 1990s that the community turned to the river in an attempt to reclaim what has become today the face of the community and the main tourism draw to Dubuque. Through a collaborative effort of the City of Dubuque, the Dubuque County Historical Society, the Dubuque Area Chamber of Commerce, and the Greater Dubuque Development Corporation, this vision of a redeveloped riverfront had become one of the most visible transformations that had taken place in Dubuque over the last years. A partnership known as “America’s River” project has transformed 90 acres of brownfield property at the Port of Dubuque into a destination for both tourists and local residents. The first phase of the project not only reclaimed the river for public access through the Mississippi Riverwalk, but also integrated major mixed use development on the riverfront including the National Mississippi River Museum and Aquarium, the Grand River Center, the Grand Harbor Resort, and the historic Star Brewery complex – all totaling \$188 million. Today, in the second phase of planning and implementation, “America’s River” projects \$218 million of the new riverfront development that will include the

RiverMax Theater, the Great Rivers Center, the River Research Center, the new Diamond Jo Casino facility, and the new regional attraction bowling complex (Dubuque365.com, n.d.).

Building on the success of “America’s River,” in 2005 the Community Foundation of Greater Dubuque and the Dubuque Chamber of Commerce embarked upon a yearlong visioning process known as “Envision 2010” (“Envision: Ten Community Projects by 2010”), in search for the ten best ideas to make Dubuque a special place. Attracting somewhere between 10,000 and 20,000 participants, the project generated over 3,000 ideas that were further narrowed down to the best ten ideas that are currently in various stages of implementation.

These and other successes have not gone unnoticed. The City of Dubuque has received a number of awards recognizing its planning and development efforts, including the Phoenix Award for Brownfield Redevelopment, America’s Crown Communities Award, All-Star Community Award, International Downtown Association Economic Development Award, and Urban Pioneer Award, among others. In 2005, USA Today named Dubuque as one of “10 great places to discover Midwest charm,” and the National Trust recognized the city as one of a “dozen distinctive destinations.” In 2006, the Money Magazine named Dubuque as having the shortest commute time of any city in the United States; in 2007, the America’s Promise Youth Foundation named it as one of the “100 best communities for young people,” and Forbes Magazine voted the city 15th in the “best small places for business and careers.” Most recently, at the end of 2007, the National Civic League awarded Dubuque with the All-America City Award.

Exemplary and illustrative of reviving towns, the transformation of Dubuque has not occurred overnight. It came as a result of decades of planning, visioning, leadership and collaboration. It involved a number of processes, with one process standing out among the others in terms of leadership, visioning, and the extent of collaborative efforts. Not only did this process help create awareness of the need of solid planning, it coalesced various stakeholders around implementation of a shared community vision. “America’s River” project combined the goals of employment, education, environment and tourism in one process that will be further examined in detail in sections that follow.

The Process: “America’s River” at the Port of Dubuque

Planning for “America’s River” began in the early 1990s with a number of seemingly unrelated projects and processes. While the City of Dubuque was working on developing a shared community vision in the “Vision 2000” and Dubuque Comprehensive Planning, the Mississippi River Museum was conducting a self study investigating the opportunities for expansion and ways to improve dissemination of knowledge about the Mississippi River, and the Greater Dubuque Development Corporation was examining strategies of promoting economic development in the city. All these projects and processes were pointing to the Mississippi River as the most valuable resource that had to be improved and redeveloped, and one could overhear discussions here and there about the riverfront becoming a jewel rather than an eyesore. However it was not until the city invited the retired planner from Duluth (Minnesota) for a two-day workshop to discuss the lakefront planning process in the City of Duluth, that these ideas started to emerge from an ephemeral state. Not only did Duluth resemble

Dubuque in various aspects – its topography, abandoned downtown waterfront, and economic downturn of the 1980s – Dubuque ended up following the path of Duluth (redeveloping and rediscovering its riverfront), only ten years later.

At the time of the workshop this was not known. Those who gathered that weekend, however, all recall that besides illustrating a successful example of a lakefront development, the workshop played an important role in coalescing stakeholders, emphasizing the value of having public-private partnerships, and bringing out the hope that collectively, the greater vision of Dubuque could be practically implemented. At the end of the workshop, the planner from Duluth noted,

If you are waiting for somebody to come to Dubuque and help your community to rebuild a riverfront, you are going to wait a lifetime, and it's never going to happen... but if you want to find out who your 'champions' are, just turn to your left and to your right...

This seemingly conventional wisdom – “look around in search for partners,” as “the whole is greater than the sum of its parts” – changed the way how various stakeholders envisioned the riverfront development in Dubuque, and shortly after a partnership was born consisting of the City of Dubuque, Dubuque County Historical Society, Dubuque Area Chamber of Commerce, and the Greater Dubuque Development Corporation. Upon collective consensus, it was decided to name the project “America’s River,” and the second (collaborative) phase of planning began.

Pulling resources together proved to be an effective strategy for “America’s River.” With the vision legacy of the former president of Dubuque County Historical Society Bill Woodward, academic and feasibility studies to support decision making, sound planning, passion and energy of the diverse group of people from all walks of life,

\$40,000,000 of debt free funding from Vision Iowa, as well as private contributions from thousands of people, organizations, and companies in the form of donated money, time, labor, and talents toward the project, “America’s River” grew in scope, to eventually include the Mississippi Riverwalk, the National Mississippi River Museum and Aquarium, the Grand River Center, the Grand Harbor Resort, and the historic Star Brewery complex – all with a price tag of \$188 million. Today in its second (\$218 million) phase, “America’s River” development efforts include 500,000 square feet of a mixed-use development in the Port of Dubuque, a 1,300 space public parking ramp, Port of Dubuque Public Park and plaza, visiting boat docks, the Great Rivers Center, the new large format RiverMax Theater, as well as the Diamond Jo's new casino and entertainment complex.

Key Players

- The City of Dubuque – operates with the council-manager form of government, employing a full-time City Manager who runs the day-to-day operations of the city, and part-time City Council (Mayor and 6 councilors) which serves as the legislative and policy making body,
- Dubuque County Historical Society – established in 1950 as a private non-profit organization with a focus on oral and archival history; over the past 10 years expanded its Mississippi River Museum into the National Mississippi River Museum and Aquarium, an affiliate of the Smithsonian Institution, accredited by the American Association of Museums,

- Dubuque Area Chamber of Commerce and Dubuque Convention and Visitors Bureau – serve as advocates of the Dubuque area business community, and promote the region as a desirable place to live, work and play, and
- Greater Dubuque Development Corporation – a private non-profit organization that strives to fuel economic growth by creating and retaining jobs in the community, as well as diversify the local economy by bringing businesses from other parts of the country, and
- The Dubuque community.

Other important players that determined the final outcome of “America’s River” included:

- State of Iowa (Vision Iowa Fund),
- Dubuque Racing Association,
- Federal Government,
- Private developer (Platinum Hospitality Group), and
- The Dubuque County.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data collection in Dubuque included a review of administrative, legal, and planning documents, as well as press coverage, in spring and summer of 2007, followed by a number of phone interviews during the same period of time, and a series of formal and informal interviews with the key players in “America’s River” project, conducted over the period of June 2007 – March 2008. Initial phone and e-mail communication with the Planning Services Manager and the Executive Director of the National Mississippi

River Museum and Aquarium provided a wealth of documentation on the context and background of the process, generated a list of contact names, and ensured the needed support and assistance in setting up interviews. In total, ten individuals were interviewed, half of them – more than one time, with interviews lasting from half an hour to several hours. Most of the interviews were recorded (later transcribed) and documented with extensive and detailed notes; post-interview and observational notes were taken following a number of informal conversations about the project.

Most of the conversations were initiated by asking questions focusing broadly on the nature of changes in the community, social and economic context of the process, participants' background and role in the process, as well as their perceptions, attitudes and beliefs. Although an interview guide was used, conversations were free-flowing and open ended. Study participants represented the key players in the initial planning and implementation of the first phase of "America's River;" they were interviewed at their workplaces, which created a "comfort zone" and facilitated free-flowing and undisturbed conversations. Even though each participant had their own unique view of the planning stage of "America's River" process, several common themes emerged that will be discussed in the section that follows. Themes brought up by the respondents ranged from the vision, collaboration and partnerships, community leadership and human capital, to the voices of the community, and the scope and timing of the project. Each of these themes is further discussed below.

Theme 1: Vision

*"Would you tell me, please, which way I ought to go from here?" [said Alice].
"That depends a good deal on where you want to get to," said the Cat.*

*"I don't much care where," said Alice.
 "Then it doesn't matter which way you go," said the Cat.
 (Lewis Carroll, 1865).*

The reference to Lewis Carroll's "Alice's Adventures in Wonderland" here is not accidental – in fact, it serves as a proper metaphor highlighting the importance of establishing, following and implementing a shared community vision in an on-going community based process. Lack of vision was noted by many respondents as one of the major factors preventing other communities from embarking on large-scale development initiative such as "America's River." Not only did a community vision help establish a "path to follow," it also brought together private donors and developers who believed in it. As Mark pointed out,

Dubuque didn't know where they were going in 1980s... When they adopted the "Vision 2000" statement and the Comprehensive Plan, we had a path to follow, and we've been doing that ever since – following that path... We update that plan every 5 years.

Even though the vision of the riverfront development was previously documented in the "Vision 2000" and Dubuque Comprehensive Plan, there was no apparent consensus on how it should be implemented,

There had been a number of people who mused among themselves that we need to do something, but didn't have consensus among themselves... What was not consensus at that time was whether we should do anything about the riverfront because the community had gone on for generations by turning a blind eye to the river and not having it be a component of a community...

Having a unified vision of a redeveloped and beautified riverfront was notably one of the greatest and strongest features of "America's River." As Kathy remarked, "no developer will come to a community that has no vision." In Dubuque of the early 1990s, this vision was shared by all of the key players. In Chris's words, "the vision was pretty much

universal – to clean up the slum, and make the river accessible to everyone at no charge, 365 days a year...”

At the same time, one after another study respondents pointed out that even though every community in Iowa should have a vision, a vision alone is not enough. For a process to succeed, this vision needed action and public support. One of the respondents recalled a quote by Joel Arthur Barker who once said, “vision without action is merely a dream; action without vision just passes the time; vision with action can change the world.” Amy added, “you have a vision today, and you build tomorrow... but you cannot do it without public support...” Gaining this needed public support was not easy; the community was hesitant whether the project was feasible. Kathy explained, “people were excited but didn’t think it could be done...” James added, “the easiest thing to do is to write a plan, but whether anything happens as a result of that, is a whole different question...” In order to create a public buy-in, an idea emerged that having the public “own” the riverfront would enhance a shared vision of the river as a “place for recreation and pleasure, poetry and beauty.” An initial plan was to utilize a 501(c)3 Foundation of the Dubuque Area Chamber of Commerce for the public donations. As Amy remarked,

In order to get the public buy-in, the City Manager thought if they raised private dollars it would create public investment and commitment in the project, a public vision...

Even though this public buy-in in the form of private investments would not pay for the development, it would bring the community together around the project. For actual implementation, “America’s River” needed significant injection of funds and a group of individual leaders – community “champions.” For everyone directly involved in the project planning, this was obvious; the last thing they wanted was to produce another

plan to be shelved, in Kathy's words, "we didn't want to have another plan that would sit on a shelf and no one does anything with it..."

Speaking of earlier studies that were collecting dust on shelves, Chris remarked that "plans don't change things, people change things..." For James, people were important, but so was the process. He argued, "you can have a great project, but if you don't have great people, nothing is going to happen... process brings these people out..." The role of the process was just that – to find "champions" and catch their interest in the project. In Amy's words,

You can have a great vision of the world, but if you don't have individuals who are courageous enough, invested enough to lead in one area or another, it won't happen... Individual leadership is critical to success of the vision; you can vision, and then you have to have leaders who know how to get from point A to point B; without that it won't happen... Those ideas will just lay there unless you have champions who will go out, pick out a piece, and say "I will do that"...

In addition, great vision and great ideas had to be supported by what Heather called "a reality check," to ensure "believability" of the project. For a vision to be successful, it had to be practically feasible, and it also had to catch community's imagination by linking to its history, environment, and roots. One of the respondents illustrated this with an example of the proposed indoor rainforest project in the southern part of Iowa: while the vision was there, the project never went beyond the planning stage as it failed to pass the "believability" test. Amy remarked,

[A vision]... needs to reflect the resources and values of the community... as well as collective cultural experiences... "America's River"... did not have an esoteric theme... but rather focused on what this project can do for our community...

Failure to pass the “reality check” was thought to be one of the major pitfalls of previous studies conducted for the riverfront; acknowledging past mistakes was necessary in order to avoid them from reoccurring. As Robert pointed out,

There have been many riverfront studies done... all of them seem to rely upon somebody coming in with a \$100 million and some great ideas, and this is not going to happen... if we were in New York City or something, and if people were falling all over themselves to get to us, that’s one thing ... but we are in Dubuque, Iowa... we have to work by ourselves, we have to grow incrementally...

At the same time it was difficult to find people who would exhibit leadership and vision, and yet be “tempered by the ability to accept the reality.” James considered it one of the major challenges of the process,

You need people with strong vision, a lot of determination, a lot of persistence, but also tempered by the ability to accept the reality... Sometimes those two don’t go hand in hand...

Finding such players would ensure the project would pass the planning stage; a combination of visioning and action/ implementation was noted as one of the critical elements of a successful planning process. To complement the two, it was important not to “rest on laurels” assuming that success would breed itself, but rather stay focused, specific, yet flexible, and continue visioning by asking, “What’s next?” This need to continuously plan and vision in order to move forward was first noted by Amy who argued, “‘America’s River’ project was so successful, that the only one mistake we can make now is not to vision again...” James added to this,

We cannot assume that because we were successful, we don’t need to go through the same process [again]... Process is critically important not only for the success of the project, but also for a community...

With the planning and visioning processes in place, another theme dominated the interviews – the one of collaboration and partnerships. As the reader will notice, these elements were implemented in Dubuque in quite a unique way.

Theme 2: Collaboration and Partnerships

While the previous chapter strongly emphasized the importance of partnerships, collaborative processes, communication and dialogues in a process of communicative planning, practical application of these deviated substantially from theoretical and academic canons. As the case studies illustrate, the practical reality of each community largely dictated the choice of methods and techniques that would work in a specific context. For Dubuque, partnerships and collaboration were mainly between decision makers and critical donors, and dialogues with community focused on ensuring community buy-in. This section will investigate the process of “America’s River” and its participants’ perceptions of this process.

The initial push to form a public-private partnership was in a way determined by a need. As discussed earlier, in the 1990s the City of Dubuque, the Dubuque Area Chamber of Commerce, the Mississippi River Museum, and the Greater Dubuque Development Corporation were all working separately on projects that centered on the Mississippi River. While the City of Dubuque and Dubuque Area Chamber of Commerce were brainstorming riverfront beautification ideas, the Mississippi River Museum was examining its expansion options and opportunities to attract more visitors in order to close the budget deficit, and the Greater Dubuque Development Corporation was examining strategies to diversify the city’s economy. Each of them needed funding to

pursue their goals, and when the Vision Iowa funding appeared on the horizon, the Mississippi River Museum decided to pursue the opportunity for the Museum expansion, only to be told that the project was too small and needed more partners and a bigger vision, along with civic support. Amy recalled,

We were told that in order to be successful and eligible for Federal funding, the Museum had to join with another public entity – the City, or the County of Dubuque... otherwise it was too small of a project...

Even though this need did not determine the final decision to form a partnership, it facilitated a change in attitudes, and eventually these stakeholders came together in what later became “America’s River.” The partnership was a “win-win” scenario for everyone – the City of Dubuque did not have to go through an awkward process of raising money from its taxpayers, but could instead focus on riverfront property acquisition (which was carried out through a land swap), the Mississippi River Museum provided a fundraising consultant to conduct a fundraising feasibility study, and the Greater Dubuque Development Corporation shifted its attention to site design reviews and working with individual developers. Having the City and the County in the partnership added credibility to the project. As Amanda noted, “it takes a village to raise a child,” and the village in this case was rather diverse and opinionated. James argued that communication was the key to reconciling existing differences,

We had different goals and some radical ideas about things, but the key was communication – if this doesn’t work, let’s take a different approach... We had to look at the whole picture... We’ve got an obligation that whatever we propose is good for everybody...

In Robert’s words, it was difficult to ensure that everyone was “on the same page,” yet it was critically important to the success of the project,

It was important to get on the same page... No one could do this alone, so we all worked together... Sure we had differences now and again, but [we all] could see the positive benefits of the project... People across the state of Iowa feel that we did remarkably, and if anything, it's the fact that we all worked so well together...

The working philosophy of the partnership was the one of “tearing down the fences.” As Mark pointed out, everyone knew that “if we don’t hang together, we’re going to hang separately; if we don’t start working together, our town is going to die...” Chris offered yet another analogy,

It’s like pulling the rope instead of pushing... If you pull a rope – it comes along just fine; if you try to push it – it turns into a ball of knots... Dubuque, up until this transition, was just that – a ball of knots...

Understanding the importance of “being on the same page,” the team engaged in what Amy described as a “planning marathon.” James explained,

We were gathering once a week for lunch at the Julian hotel, having conversations about what this would look like... we met for 7 years... What was remarkable about those meetings is that there was a vision there and collaboration, right from the beginning...

As the process was lengthy, Kathy thought it was important not to lose the motivation and determination. “We have a ‘can do’ attitude here, and a team of people that care enough of the community to spend the extra time to get it done...,” she argued.

These frequent meetings quickly indicated the need for this partnership to extend itself by reaching out to donors and the broader community. Quoting Heather,

[“America’s River”]... had “we can do this” attitude, and great involvement and support from schools, organizations, businesses, and individuals... as well as commitment from the City Council and buy-in from the community...

Acknowledging the need to collaborate with other stakeholders, the project nevertheless was very selective in who was invited in the process. Acting in a “politically correct”

manner, it appeared that everyone was invited, yet not everyone had the same influence.

As James put it,

Some of those partnerships have been incredibly fruitful, some haven't had any impact on anybody, but by reaching out and trying to build relationships and partnerships and collaboration... it's amazing what can happen...

In other words, these outreach efforts and new partnerships were purposely narrowly focused. When the fundraising feasibility study came back pointing out the 99% public support of the project (the "public" being potential donors), "America's River" went after prospective donors with a few years worth of presentations – formal and informal, to raise awareness and funding necessary for the project implementation. With staff experienced in political campaigns, the partnership attempted to stay open and inclusive by maintaining an "open door policy," ensuring that no one would be alienated during the process, and that everyone would have ownership. At the same time, it kept a narrow focus. Amy recalled,

[These] partnerships were critical... Anyone who had ideas, we listened to them... We kept on sending invitations... [The process] wasn't open to the public, but instead to the critical leaders...

These extended partnerships were rather demanding, requiring communication and listening skills, as well as ability to work towards a consensus. Speaking about harsh demands placed on "America's River" team, James noted,

In all my [previous] successes I learned that anything I can do by myself, I can do way better when there is a bunch of other people involved... But it's not only about collaborating and building partnerships, but also listening... Everybody says communication is the key, but how do you really communicate... it's not so easy to do... you have to check your ego at the door and listen... A lot of times people are going to tell you stuff you don't really want to hear, because it's not your paradigm... [and] somehow we were able to do that...

Another major decision the team had to make was whether to pursue the route of “decisiveness” or “consensus building.” Although the latter was the preferred choice, it was often referred to as not the most efficient way to get things done,

We often tend to answer this on the decisiveness side of the curve, and not on the consensus side of the curve... While you can force people to do things, it doesn't mean anything... the only way you can make people do what you want is by working towards a consensus...

It is way more efficient to give orders and have ‘pine tables’... but a lot of times we don't spend nearly enough time trying to really work toward a consensus... [Even though] it is impossible in many situations (there're too many variables, and you can't get everybody agree on everything), you ought to be able to get more than 51% of the people to agree... One of the strength of the process was that we were trying not to get 51%, but everybody... if anyone had an idea, we said, ‘Geez, what do you think about it?’ We weren't forcing people to buy into things, we kept working, until we had something approaching consensus...

Not without challenges, this process of collaboration and creating partnerships played a transformative role in the way the City of Dubuque has been working ever since. One after another, interviewees pointed out that “America's River” process was just as important to their community as the final outcomes of the project. As Chris pointed out,

[This] tradition of partnership... It is a part of the culture today, but it wasn't a part of the culture 20 years ago... The culture that exists today in Dubuque is a result of good people stepping up... “America's River” process... transformed the portion of the community forever that needed to be transformed... One project changed in many ways the psychology of the community, its ability to look forward and not back... We can grow, we can be successful, we can overcome our competition...

The theme of collaboration and partnerships, while largely focusing on “America's River” outreach efforts, brought with it another theme of community leadership and human capital. It is further discussed below.

Theme 3: Community Leadership

It is difficult to find a practitioner who would argue against the critical role of human capital in any venture; as Chris noted, “people are always the main factor of success or failure.” In a similar manner, all of the respondents emphasized the importance of human capital and community leadership to the ultimate success of “America’s River.” More significantly, project leadership created a precedent for future projects and processes in the City of Dubuque. James recalled a 20-year old conversation with Mike Blouin (now president of the Greater Dubuque Development Corporation,) discussing the economic successes of the City of Cedar Rapids,

I asked him, ‘How come Cedar Rapids is doing so well?’ He said, ‘Without leadership – you don’t’ ... What happened in Dubuque – a whole bunch of great leaders came forward all at the same time... Our City Manager was a key person, without him it would have been much more difficult... You can have the best project and everything else, but if you don’t have the right people, it’s not going to happen...

Besides the direct support and credibility of a public agency, strong city leadership provided the project with another unexpected advantage. Chris explained,

Nothing of this would have happened without the faith and credit of the local government. Without it, the private sector would not have taken a risk. From there, there was enough energy combined with the money and great leadership... And when you have human capital and great ideas mesh at the same time, you have long term sustainability... The beauty of what happened here is that you had both simultaneously...

As conversations progressed, the human capital theme moved from leaders and partners of “America’s River” to the broader community. With the project of this scope at hand, the public had to play a role in the process, but what was their role? The section that follows will address this question.

Theme 4: The Voices of the Community

Community dialogues in the process of visioning, planning and implementing “America’s River” were shaped by a number of different forces. On one hand, to ensure success, the community had to embrace the project; on the other hand, all major decisions were made without direct public input. The theme of community involvement and community dialogues often revolved around securing community buy-in, and the respondents had their own interpretations as to why.

Opinions about the role and influence of the public differed broadly. Some argued that “America’s River” captured each and everyone in Dubuque; others were more skeptical and cautious about making such grand statements. Depending on personal beliefs, practical experience, and often affiliation of the interviewee, it was difficult at times to balance those diverse views. Confusion increased as the respondents started to mix up different processes – as they were speaking of community involvement in “Vision 2000” and Dubuque Comprehensive Planning, “Vision Downtown” and the Port of Dubuque Master Planning, the Mississippi River Museum planning process, “America’s River,” and “Envision 2010.” While clearly intertwined as pieces of a larger puzzle, these processes were different in scope and purpose, with clearly outlined rules and boundaries as to the role and impact of a broader community.

Referring to citizen participation in general, Heather expressed a common opinion that, “people tend to get involved if they are impacted in a negative way.” On the same note, Chris added that, “if you are gonna wait for a 100% consensus on something before you do it, then you will do nothing...” Even though a common theme was that

“communities belong to people,” as Wendy put it, “sometimes you don’t want to hear what people say... and it is also next to impossible to achieve 100% representation...”

With this frame of mind, “America’s River” team was at the same time very conscious of the need to ensure public support of the project. As Kathy pointed out,

People ask me, ‘How do you do this, how do you put this process together?’... One thing that you have to have... it’s great to have a process, it’s great to have things on paper, but if people don’t buy it, if they don’t get behind it and give their time, it’s not going to happen...

The lack of the public buy-in/ support was attributed to past failures of studies conducted for the riverfront; the reason why those projects never materialized was because a consulting firm/ an “expert” would “tell you what you should do, instead of listening to you and involving citizens.” To steer away from this practice, as Mark argued, it was necessary “to get the input from the citizens... since they are directly affected...”

And so citizens were brought into the process, albeit in a consultative/ advisory role. Chris explained,

The community was brought in through a series of charrettes and meetings... there were sincere efforts in developing consensus and bringing feedback in... The one thing that wasn’t done was asking voters to then approve it... [with it], there wouldn’t have been the same buy in...

At the same time, the public was invited to participate in the process in a variety of ways. As Kathy recalled, “there was something in it for everybody...” “America’s River” campaign allowed Dubuquers to get involved – mainly through individual donations and volunteering,

The whole community was behind what we wanted to do... Pieces of the project had meaning for everyone... The community embraced it and made it their own... People have not only gotten behind the fundraising effort, people have gotten behind promoting the project...

In other words, as the awareness and fundraising campaign proceeded, the public was informed and aware of the process. Neighbors were encouraged to meet with other neighbors and friends to discuss and promote the project, schools were developing curricula around the history and environment of the Mississippi river, and community organizations and civic groups organized fundraising events and offered volunteering services to secure funds for “America’s River.” A “Hometown Hero” campaign was launched to recognize those who brought their families and friends to Dubuque as a part of promoting the project. A website, weekly column in the newspaper, as well as on-going TV and radio coverage ensured process transparency. As Heather remarked, “if you didn’t know about it [“America’s River”], you were living under a rock...” For some, this was evidence enough to support a case of “grass roots” community planning,

We had a perfect combination of a shared vision, grass roots community involvement, leadership, and risk taking... a hard combination to beat...

Some went even further to say the project had overwhelming approval of the community,

We involved so many people and listened to them... If you took a vote, approval rate would be in the middle of 90% among the citizens of Dubuque – because we involved everybody...

At the same time, while the community was becoming aware and supportive of the project, most of the process decisions were made behind closed doors by the “participants with a capacity to influence, to give major gifts” (Robert). James recalled,

Don’t remember that we actually invited everybody from the community to come... but if you do, no one shows up anyhow... We were very intentional in identifying anybody who would have interest in this project, and the response was amazing...

In response to whether community dissent could or would be decisive, Chris replied,

I don't think the community input changed the direction of the development of the riverfront... It reinforced what a handful of people thought should happen; it reinforced that that was what everybody wanted to happen... as long as they didn't have to pay for it...

According to those interviewees, the dissent was not there. Yes, as Amy pointed out, "you will always have chronic complainers," and there were complaints about the elements of the project, but this was only expected. Chris concurred,

From project to project you do get criticism – some people don't think we should have allowed to build the corporate headquarters, some people don't like gambling, some people had a bad experience with aquariums – but you are always gonna have that...

In the eyes of the team of "America's River," the civic support of the project was also illustrated by the absence of any organized protests about the proposed development, even though there were those who appeared ambivalent and unsure about the outcomes.

Mark thought if the citizenry were unhappy, they would initiate a referendum,

There is a law in Iowa, enabling citizens to request a referendum by a petition... There wasn't even a small contingent to say, 'Let's vote on this,' or to initiate the petition... There weren't people who were against, but people who were ambivalent... [yet] there wasn't enough motion to protest...

The theme of a referendum came up once again in a conversation with Chris. Passionate about the project, yet straightforward about the role of the public, he explained,

Fortunately, the key to success was that we didn't have to go to [the public] for a vote... As much as I think the community is proud of the riverfront, as successful as it is locally, regionally and nationally, the truth of the matter is had we gone to the voters and said, 'Would you give us the money to do this?,' their answer would be an overwhelming 'No,' 'Forget about it'... I think they are proud of it, they are supportive of it, but they didn't have to say 'Yes' or 'No' about it... Their representatives and the local government made the choice for them, but fortunately didn't have to go to them for a referendum to financially put the muscle behind it... We didn't ask, so they didn't have an opportunity to say 'No'... Now, the vast majority is thrilled and takes a pride in the riverfront...

He then continued on to say,

There was never a referendum that allowed opposition to raise its head, there was never an ask... The elected officials made the decision, trying to educate the community all along of what they were doing, why they were doing it, and what the expected outcomes were, but at no point did they have to go back to the taxpayers and say, 'Will you approve a referendum to do this'... fortunately, they didn't have to...

And so the project progressed. The community followed riverfront development initiatives through the media, and expressed its overall approval of the project by volunteering at fundraising events, and donating individual time and money to the venture. If any speculation was to be made about the level of support, the timing was right for Dubuque to reinvent itself, and the scope of the project promised to put the city on the map alongside other popular tourist destinations. For a community that had been hit hard by the economic recession of the 1980s, revitalization of the downtown riverfront and diversification of the local economy brought with it a promise of a brighter future. The timing of "America's River" could not have been better, and the massive scope of the project allowed Dubuquers to feel they were a part of something bigger than themselves.

Theme 5: Scope and Timing

Juan Moreno once said that "change is inevitable; transformation is optional." For Dubuque, rediscovering the Mississippi river brought with it a complete transformation of the city, the region, and its economy. Quoting Chris, "if not for the river and our colleges, Dubuque would be 'any place else USA,' but because we have those two things, we are truly unique..."

It took many years of planning and visioning to grasp this simple truth, and "America's River" partnership was launched at the right time, at the right place. The city

was ready for a change, and as the project unfolded, things started to fall into their places.

As Amy put it,

People want to be proud of their community... [they want to] have jobs and be a part of something bigger than themselves... ["America's River"] had an opportunity to meet that need...

Kathy further added that "[it was] the right time for the community to come together."

With networks and collaboration in place, the project only required a trigger to get started. Some argued that Dubuque did it by bringing an outside consultant who had "street credibility" (Chris),

He had credibility ('street credibility') – he had done it some place else more than 50 miles away – what we define as an 'expert'... and he did a good job by laying things out and bringing people together... [for Dubuque], it was a spark that lit the candle that had been here for some time...

In addition, "America's River" players all joined the project well prepared in a number of ways. Speaking of timing, Robert remarked,

[It was a] good project, and good timing... [We had] feasibility studies done, architects, exhibit designers, and collaboration already established... We had years of headstart as compared to other communities...

Finally, it was also recognition of the amount of work to be done, and the need to be persistent and determined. Kathy explained,

When you think about the magnitude of a project like this, and it seems a daunting task to get this done... seeing this happening... We never thought it wouldn't happen, never said, 'No, you can't do this,' never assumed any of our donors were going to turn us down... and they never did... It was never a negative thing in getting the job done, continuously moving forward...

With roles delineated from those of donors and decision makers to volunteers and at times passive observers, it was the scope of "America's River" that overwhelmed most of

its participants. As Kathy shared, “being able to build something that will last a lifetime is not only personally rewarding, it’s a life experience...”

Not only did good timing and the scope of the riverfront redevelopment project play a critical role in boosting “America’s River;” combined with vision, collaboration and partnerships, community leadership, and community buy-in, they shaped the project in what it eventually came to be. There are lessons to be learned from “America’s River” planning at the Port of Dubuque, just as there are lessons Dubuque planning processes could learn from other communities, and as any other process, “America’s River” could have been improved, but the fact remains – it is the context that defined process design. What happened in Dubuque in the 1990s was largely determined by the social, economic, political, and community realities of the time; as any other community, Dubuque devised its planning process using those design elements that appeared the most appropriate. As a relatively new tourist destination, Dubuque did not experience any hostility towards its riverfront redevelopment; quite the opposite, the city and its residents embraced “America’s River” as the “remedy” to the economic ills of the past. Breaking away from the past planning and development models, it “discovered” its unique way to address the most pressing concerns of the citizenry – specifically, beautification of the riverfront, reclaiming the river for the community, but most importantly – creation of jobs and attraction of new businesses to the newly redeveloped area.

Case Study 2: Waterfront Park Planning (Hood River, Oregon)

(See Appendix C for a collection of maps of the State of Oregon, the City of Hood River, the Port of Hood River, and the Hood River Waterfront Park).

The Context: “The Windsurfing Capital of America”

Centrally located at the heart of the Columbia River Gorge National Scenic Area, the City of Hood River (also the county seat for Hood River County) is located at the junction of Highway 35 and Interstate 84, approximately 60 miles east of Portland, 7 miles west of Mosier, 21 miles west of The Dalles, and 32 miles north of Government Camp (The City of Hood River, 2008). It is connected with the communities of White Salmon and Bingen in the state of Washington by a toll bridge.

In 1792, the Vancouver Expedition headed by WR Broughton discovered and named Mount Hood, and in 1805, Lewis and Clark arrived at the glacial stream now known as Hood River. Initially called the Labeasche River, the stream was later renamed Dog River, and finally Hood River, to reflect its close proximity to Mount Hood. The City of Hood River was incorporated in 1854 by Nathaniel Coe and his family, who filed a land claim for the area. In 1908, Hood River County separated from Wasco County and gained a separate administrative status. Its borders have remained unchanged since then, and today Hood River County extends from Mount Hood in the north to the Columbia River in the south. In 1858 Hood River saw its first post office, in 1889 – the first newspaper, and in 1922 – the Historic Columbia River Highway, still in existence today.

In 2000, the population of Hood River was estimated at 5,831 (Hood River County accounted for a population of 20,411). Residents of Hood River are mostly Caucasian (80.83%), with the second largest group being Hispanic or Latino (23.17%). In 2000, there were 2,429 households and 1,442 families living in the city. The median income for a household in Hood River was \$31,580, and the median income for a family was \$35,568. About 12.1% of families and 17.3% of the population were below the

poverty line (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000b). The majority of Hood River residents fall within the age category of 25 to 44, with the median age being 34 years.

Historically, Hood River County has been known for its agriculture (fruit) and lumber products. Today, it is one of the largest pear-growing districts in the world, especially winter pears (Hauser, 2002). Many of the fruit farms are part of what is known as the “Fruit Loop” – a 35-mile scenic drive through the valley's fruit orchards, farmlands, country markets and wineries. The “Fruit Loop” not only offers the complete experience of growing, producing and enjoying fruits and wines, attracting food and wine tourists to the area, but also enables those in search for a perfect wedding destination, to hold their wedding at a farm, winery, or bed and breakfast (Article 73, Hood River County Ordinance No.255, 2004). In addition, Hood River Valley has several microbreweries and vineyards.

The unique geographic location of the city creates an enclave for water sports. In summer, hot air rising from the desert to the east of the Cascade Range sucks cool air up the Columbia River Gorge from the Pacific, with the winds forming a natural wind tunnel (Samson, 2006). With windsurfers “discovering” the area in 1980s, these winds have turned Hood River into an outdoor sports Mecca. Since then, the forty-mile river corridor attracted windsurfers ranging from beginners to advanced, establishing Hood River as the “windsurfing capital of America,” and an international destination for water sports. More recently, new outdoor sports have become popular including kiteboarding, mountain biking, white-water kayaking, rafting, paragliding, rock climbing, hiking, skiing, and snowboarding (Samson, 2006).

The City of Hood River has not always been the host to recreationists; from about 1915 to 1950 most of the outdoor activities in the area took place at a dance hall and outdoor resort at Koberg Beach, located between the communities of Hood River and Mosier. With the construction of hydroelectric dams and rising waters of the Columbia River, the Koberg Beach was inundated, leaving very few recreational amenities for local residents and visitors. With windsurfers “discovering” Hood River in 1980s, the focus of attention of those searching for a perfect place for recreation shifted to the waterfront area owned by the Port of Hood River.

The Hood River County has two ports and two boat basins which service commercial traffic as well as recreational boating. One of the two ports – the Port of Hood River – was established in 1933 as a result of the Bonneville Dam project (the Bonneville Lock and Dam were build to generate electrical power and assist with river navigation), to assist development of industrial lands in the Columbia River Basin. Over a number of years, the Port of Hood River acquired waterfront properties along the Columbia River that had been previously used for farming, running cattle, operating saw mills and log dumps, and sewage disposal, to be subsequently turned to usable land by in-filling. With this, it created the first planned industrial area in the Bonneville Pool that had the potential of railroad transportation, interstate highway transportation, and river barge transportation (Abraham, 1975). The State of Oregon, the U.S. Government, the Corps of Engineers and the Bonneville Power Administration all cooperated in the fill project. In-filling the waterfront was broken down in three phases and continued throughout the 1970s. In between the fill project, in 1950 the Port of Hood River purchased the interstate Hood River/ White Salmon Bridge connecting the two states of

Oregon and Washington. Following a number of improvements, the toll bridge became a revenue generator for the Port. Finally, the Port Office Building was completed in 1973. Today, the Port of Hood River owns and operates the Hood River/ White Salmon Bridge, the Hood River Airport, the John Weber Business Park in Odell, the Expo Center facility, and the Hood River Marina and waterfront area. In addition, the Port purchased and renovated for lease the former Diamond Cannery Complex in downtown Hood River (Port of Hood River, 2007a).

Serving as a governmental agency that also focuses on making profits, ports in Oregon are authorized to levy taxes, borrow money, issue bonds, and charge for services. Because of this unique business-like status, they are also involved in negotiating economic development projects, leasing land, buildings and equipment, and promoting their facilities and districts for potential economic growth and opportunities (Port of Hood River, 2007b). The waterfront area in the City of Hood River was in-filled in 1950s-1970s with this very purpose of assisting industrial and commercial expansion and facilitating access to the river. At the same time, while the Port of Hood River was envisioning development of the industrial park in the area, the local community had quite a different perspective of the role and value of the waterfront property. These at times polarizing views stirred much controversy about the future of the Hood River waterfront, and thwarted much of its development. Starting with the first Port of Hood River waterfront plan produced in 1975 by S.M. Burdick, through a series of documents produced from 1980s-2000s by Benkendorf & Associates, Leland Consulting Group, and Mitchell Nelson Group, nothing happened, only the pile of shelved plans continued to grow. Over a number of years, the Port of Hood River continued to hire consultants to

produce yet another masterplan/ waterfront development strategy, and the City and its citizens continued to impede any possible development progress.

For the most part, controversies revolved around an old issue of “what’s the best use of the land.” While the Port argued it was to spur economic growth in the area, new voices of the incoming resident population of windsurfers and those who saw Hood River as their piece of “heaven on earth,” insisted on preserving the area for recreation. To try and resolve the gridlock, in 1994 the Port and the City of Hood River entered into an agreement to prepare a mixed-use plan for the waterfront, and formed the Waterfront Advisory Committee to work on the plan. After two years of citizen involvement, the Waterfront Masterplan developed by the Waterfront Advisory Committee, went to the City Planning Commission and City Council. The document addressed most of the conflicting issues, with the exception of six differences that consequently made the Port withdraw its application. At the same time, in an effort to voice their concerns of the proposed development, a group of community activists got together and formed what became known as the Citizens for Responsible Waterfront Development (CRWD). Over the years, this group initiated a number of citizen initiatives/ ballot measures, among them – “Save the Marina” in 1995 (won by 52% of the Port District votes), “Keeping the waterfront public” in 2003 (won by 67% of the City votes), and Goal 5 measure/ adopting a setback that would prohibit development within 75 feet of the waterway’s bank (won by 60% of the City votes). While serving mostly as non-binding measures (the 2003 initiative to make waterfront public was officially challenged at the state level by the City and the Port; as a result, the State of Oregon Land Use Board of Appeals approved that land use policies/ rezoning cannot be done by a ballot measure), they were viewed by the

broader community as a way to voice their concerns and make community priorities visible to the Port and the City.

The community vision of the public waterfront was evident not only through the above mentioned citizen led initiatives; a survey by the Hood River Valley Parks and Recreation District also revealed public desire for a community amenity on the waterfront, perhaps in the form of a park. One piece of property especially exacerbated existing tensions and became a rallying point for Hood River community – a 6.4 acres lot, commonly known as “lot 6.” As the citizens of Hood River wanted to preserve the property for the Waterfront Park, the Port of Hood River insisted it was originally created to support industrial development in the area. Finally, in May of 2006, following the decision by the Port Commission, the Port and the City of Hood River entered into an Intergovernmental Agreement/ Waterfront Park IGA, donating “lot 6” to the city for park development. The IGA outlined the list of facilities to be included on the property, confirmed that the Park maintenance became the sole responsibility of the City, and established a seven- year time frame for park development. Failure to comply with the provisions of the IGA would return the property back to its previous owner – the Port.

With an IGA in place, it was up to the City to establish a budget and come up with funding sources, hire the architects to design the Park, obtain necessary development permits, and begin the construction phase. Once again, “lot 6” came to the forefront of community attention. With the City lacking financial resources to proceed with Park design and development, it was now up to the community to take charge of the project. As a result, a group of citizens came together to form the Waterfront Community Park Association (WCPA) to support the development of the Waterfront Park, and the Park

Development Committee (PDC) to oversee the design, budgeting, and fundraising of the Park. The latter immediately initiated the design process by sending out requests for proposals in search for the landscape architect that would best work with the committee on the concept of the Park.

The Process: Hood River Waterfront Park Planning

The Hood River Waterfront Park planning process started long before the 2005 Intergovernmental Agreement between the City and the Port of Hood River. Over and over again, the community had expressed its desire to have a public facility that could be used by citizens for recreational purposes. For years, overcrowded Jackson Park remained the only place the citizenry could use; available land on the waterfront made the community want more – a public place by the water they could claim their own. The 2003 citizen initiative to keep the waterfront public only further amplified already existing controversies, and having public access to the waterfront in the form of a trail and a Waterfront Park became the rallying point for residents. With the Intergovernmental Agreement and the Park Development Committee in place, the City of Hood River for the first time came close to “burying the axe of war” and reconciling the rival parties. Even the make-up of the PDC attempted to ensure that multiple voices were heard: six committee members represented the Port and the City of Hood River (three and three, respectively), with the seventh member representing the Hood River Valley Parks and Recreation District. The PDC thus served as a liaison between the Port, the City, and the community.

Initial meetings of the PDC called for a number of important decisions – whether to pursue a “fancy” Waterfront Park versus a simplified version of a public amenity, where to obtain funding for the architects to design the concept plan, how to outline the public process to discuss the concept plan, how to design the fundraising strategy for the construction phase, etc. The first practical step taken towards plan design and construction was a consultation with the Hood River Valley Parks and Recreation District that resulted in allocation of \$30,000 to fund a consultant for the design and construction documents. The PDC sent out a number of requests for proposals, and after a series of interviews hired GreenWorks, PC (a landscape architecture firm from Portland, Oregon) to create Park concept design plans. Using the list of criteria for the Park set forth by the Port of Hood River in the IGA, as well as the history of the types of uses local residents wanted in the Park, GreenWorks designed 3 broad concept design plans, ranging from a mostly green concept, an urban concept, and a mixed design concept. Now it was the time to ask the community which one of these plans would best reflect public wants and needs, and so the PDC initiated a public process to gather community ideas on the Park.

The public process for the Waterfront Park lasted about six months and consisted of a number of public hearings in the City of Hood River, and in the Upper Hood River Valley. GreenWorks were asked to be present at the meetings in order to answer design concept questions; in addition, all three concept plans were on display at the City Library, City Hall, City Hospital, and other “strategic” public locations. There were surveys, reports in the local newspaper, banners, and a website with the most up to date information about the Park. The PDC called for comments from every resident of Hood River, and made a deliberate and concerted effort to invite a broad range of opinions.

Ultimately, the three concepts were narrowed down to the one which was sent back to architects for review along with a number of comments from the residents. When the revised plan arrived, the community gathered one more time to discuss the concept; and after the design was endorsed by the citizenry, it went to the City Council for final approval, along with the estimated budget and the list of necessary construction permits. The PDC was done with its task, now it was the WCPA that came into the picture by initiating a fundraising strategy.

Over two years, the WCPA wrote several grant applications and conducted a number of fundraising presentations, eventually securing several funding streams including \$500,000 from the Oregon Parks, \$250,000 in cash and \$250,000 in in-kind donations – enough to proceed with the first phase of the Park construction. The rush to begin the (first) construction phase was fueled by two important factors – the desire to finally show the community that development of the Park was not just another plan that would eventually go on the shelf, and the Corps of Engineers' requirement to complete the construction in the water between November 15 and March 15, within the so called “fish window” – a time frame when there is no (endangered) fish in the Columbia River. In addition, completion of the first phase of the project would generate further community support and help ensure further funding for the Park. With this in mind, the ground was broken and the “digging” on the waterfront began in February 2008. As this was being written, the City of Hood River was proceeding with the construction of its first public Waterfront Park, after years and years of gridlock, anger and tensions.

Key Players

- The City of Hood River – operates with the council-manager form of government, employing a full-time City Manager who runs the day-to-day operations of the city, and part-time City Council (Mayor and 6 Council members) which serves as the legislative and policy making body,
- The Port of Hood River – is guided by the five-member Commission Board elected for a four-year term by the voters of the Port of Hood River District. The main role of the Port Commission is to design policies for the Port of Hood River which are then implemented by Port staff under the direction of the Executive Director. The mission of the Port of Hood River is to initiate, promote and maintain quality of life and a healthy economy throughout the Port District and the Columbia River Gorge,
- Hood River Valley Parks and Recreation District – established in 1988 and includes most of Hood River County; the mission of the District is to provide recreational opportunities to the citizens of the District, with focus on the youth of the community,
- The Waterfront Community Park Association (WCPA) – a 501(c)(3) citizen group formed to support the development of the Hood River Waterfront Park through community outreach, fundraising, and cooperative work with public and private agencies,
- The Park Development Committee (PDC) – has been overseeing development of the Hood River Waterfront Park including park design, defining construction and maintenance costs, and making fundraising recommendations, and

- Hood River community – including citizen groups and community activists.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data collection in Hood River included review of planning documents and press coverage in summer and fall of 2007, and a number of phone interviews in fall of 2007. In addition, a series of formal and informal interviews were conducted with a broad range of residents during the site visit to the community in November 2007. In addition to interviews, several public meetings were attended to help understand the context in which the Waterfront Park planning had been taking place. Initial contacts were established through the planning department and community activists of the City of Hood River. In total, 17 individuals were interviewed (this excludes a number of informal interviews), half of them – more than one time, with interviews lasting from half an hour to several hours. Most of the interviews were recorded (later transcribed) and documented with extensive and detailed notes; post-interview and observational notes were taken following a number of informal conversations about the project. The interviews were conducted in various locations, including coffee shops, workplaces, personal residences, and even during rides and hikes along the waterfront.

Most of the conversations were initiated by asking questions focusing broadly on the nature of changes in the community, social and economic context of the process, participants' background and role/ participation in the process, as well as their perceptions, attitudes and beliefs. Although an interview guide was used, conversations were free-flowing and open ended. Study participants represented diverse and at times conflicting interests. They were current and former elected officials, business and

property owners, community activists and citizens who had first-hand experience in planning processes initiated and carried out by the Port and the City of Hood River, as well as the final Waterfront Park planning process.

The following section will examine patterns of the Waterfront Park planning process that emerged throughout the interviews. Themes brought up by the respondents ranged from the voices of the community, a multitude of worldviews, community leadership, and public access to the waterfront, to tourism impacts and other community changes, and community fabric and social capital. Each of these themes is further discussed below.

Theme 1: The Voices of the Community

Anyone studying land use planning and development in the United States will tell you about the distinct land use planning laws on the West Coast. States like Washington and Oregon are known for their system of controls/ overlapping jurisdictions, when it comes to land use. In Hood River, these overlapping jurisdictions were the City, the State, the County, the Port, as well as the community; such a broad range of stakeholders only added to the complexity of the planning process. Most of the controversies revolved around the issue of land use, which is regulated in Oregon by a statewide land use planning program that has existed since 1973 in a form of a set of goals ranging from citizen involvement to housing and natural resources, to be achieved through local comprehensive planning (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development, n.d.). In other words, each city and county in the state are required to adopt a

comprehensive plan along with zoning and land-division ordinances, and are also required to keep all plans consistent with each other, and the statewide planning goals.

Not only are West Coasters known for their passion for the land, they have a certain and unique land use ethic. Brooke explained this in the following way,

As a 'Westerner,' I am used to a lot of public land... [You know], we have a different sense of ownership about the land... If you ask a person in the Western United States how big their house is, they will tell you how many square feet it is... if you ask a person in the Eastern United States how big their house is, they will tell you it's two or three bedroom... they don't think about it in terms of physical space... So in the Western frame of mind land has a different value, and we want a certain amount of it... I think that's central to how we ended up in this discussion about the waterfront, having the western mindset of what's appropriate to do with this land, who owns it, and who has rights to it...

With this, Brooke outlined what one would notice after a few days of staying in the community – a feeling of communal ownership of the land, and a sense of entitlement to the public property. In Hood River, this latter sense of entitlement has been especially strong in regard to the waterfront. As Sam put it, “in Hood River, everyone owns the waterfront.” Molly further added,

In Hood River, people have a perception that 'You cannot change my waterfront'/'Don't mess with my waterfront,' they perceive it as 'their' waterfront, as a very valuable asset... That's why people were involved, because these issues were at stake...

Jack illustrated this very point with an example of a proposed commercial development on the waterfront that was turned down by the community. Several years ago, there was a proposal to put a Burger King on the Port property; as the project proceeded with implementation, community disagreement with the idea of having a chain fast food restaurant on the waterfront aggravated and eventually resolved in termination of construction. Examples like these have not been rare in Hood River, but the case of

Burger King was especially illustrative of the strength of community sentiment for what should and should not occur on “their” waterfront. Quoting Jack,

The citizens [here] are very protective of environment, very protective of a view corridor, and very protective of their right to recreation... And if the company wants to come here but cannot fulfill some of those needs, they don't think it's necessary... [People here] are very protective of their small town community, for example they didn't want a Burger King here, they didn't like where it was going to be situated in the view corridor, they didn't want their view to be crowded up with things like Burger King... I think they are very protective in that way...

Mary thought the uniqueness of Hood River planning processes could also be explained by the small size of the community. This small town feel was apparent in Hood River – in the middle of the day, coffee shops would be filled with neighbors chatting about life and politics, spreading rumors and discussing the news (it appeared that Hood River at times ran on rumors). Mary explained,

I think one of the things is the size of this community... Everybody knows everybody... You know who your opponents are... The same thing happens in big cities, but I don't think most people are aware of it, because they are not a part of the process... Here, because we are such a small community, everybody can easily be a part of the process...

Gene thought that being a “part of the process” was entrenched in what he called the “Oregon tradition” of citizen involvement,

It's kind of an Oregon tradition... the initiative and referendum laws originated in Oregon, which is a kind of citizen involvement in government... and the tradition here is long standing... People sincerely love Oregon and want their vision of an improved future to happen to the state... but of course not everyone's vision is the same...

Lawrence disagreed – to him, the referendum system in Oregon was “healthy, but stifling at times;” to Brooke, this was how democracy works,

[You know], the process of democracy is sometimes long and torturous... it takes a while... but it's a marvelous thing... I've always found that people beat their chests about the wonders of democracy until they have to actually act within a

democratic environment, and they don't want to give up anything, they just want to have it their own way... [I also] don't think compromise is a dirty word, I think it's a good word... we can never make progress in the family, church, school, unless people are willing to compromise... You can still have very specific values you never compromise, yet reach compromise on specific issues...

Achieving the compromise and reconciling competing visions was indeed a challenging task, and the makeup of the residents of Hood River made it only more complex. As Mary pointed out, Hood River "used to be more conservative... now it is a more progressive community, because of the people who moved here..." Windsurfers and outdoor enthusiasts, these newcomers appeared to be on average better educated and financially stable. They also had a strong environmental ethic; many of them left big cities and stable jobs in search for a piece of "heaven on earth," a place with the small town feel where they could make a difference. When it came to the waterfront planning, these new residents often wanted the same things that tourists would want – "a place to play with a lovely landscape." At times, however, their demands were too radical.

Brooke,

There are a few [residents] on the outside fringe that would say, 'Hide that land under the blanket, and 30 years from now it will be very valuable'... But that doesn't really help a family with two kids that needs money for healthcare... We need better jobs for people who live here now... and even the newer residents acknowledge that we need jobs here...

A mix of the old time residents who mostly depended on agriculture and resource extraction, and the new residents advocating land preservation, created a unique blend of value systems in Hood River. Sam argued these different value systems were at the core of all community tensions,

The waterfront... brought up to light different value systems and competitive visions – as people attribute different value systems to what they see... Some people were [actually] happy with the lack of progress...

Public opinions ranged from the views that nothing should be built, to the need to attract jobs and create employment opportunities, to arguments for and against residential/housing developments. These competing value systems raised the stakes to a point when nobody could agree on anything, and finding a middle ground at times appeared impossible. Parties with interest in the process wanted all or nothing, and if the process was not going in their direction, they were ready for extreme measures to stifle or stop it. Gene thought this lack of flexibility has been apparent for many years,

I think that people need to take a little bit more flexibility and understand that not every square foot can be exactly what they want, but as long there is something there that they can enjoy, they have won, too...

Without this flexibility and understanding, it seemed that there were many parties, each speaking mostly to themselves, and nobody listened. Brooke referred to this as “people sitting in their little ‘silos,’ making plans they thought were really cool... never really being in touch with their community...” Leaving those little “silos” was what needed to happen in order for those players to find the common ground. Instead, there was anger and escalated tensions.

Tracy,

I really like the fact that people can come and voice their opinions; I just wish sometimes that everybody listened... You don't have to get angry... there is no need for anger behind it... What we had was that people wanted to be heard, but other people weren't listening... [We should have been] sitting down and hearing other people's opinions and trying to mold them and reach consensus...

Another respondent thought the community voices diverged as there were too many details in each of the Port plans, making reconciliation and consensus yet more difficult. As details stirred controversies and intensified tensions, one of the alternatives was to

take an alternative route – “identify guiding principles, but do not answer everything; rather, focus on change, leaving the rest [open] for discussion...” Indeed, this became the strategy of the Port of Hood River and was reflected in the latest 2007 Waterfront Development Strategy by Group Mackenzie. This new strategy of the Port focused largely on the southern portion of the waterfront, leaving the northern area adjacent to the water, out of the picture. Many of the study participants thought this was another smart move from the Port, in addition to land donation for the Park. It appeared that the community and the Port were tired of constant battles, and the time had come to step back and reassess past and future actions. The Port needed to work on its communication and listening skills more than anything else; lack of both caused a lot of problems in the past, and it appeared that with the new leadership, the Port was ready to correct those past mistakes. Speaking of the past, Tracy recalled,

The Port didn't do a super good job of communicating their plans... They didn't listen, they didn't communicate... There was no dialogue with the community 20 years ago... That's why there are so many plans on the shelves... There was no dialogue as to what was possible, it was like sitting down and saying, 'Okay, we are going to build a house here... but not saying, "This is how much money we have [for the house]"... There was no discussion as to what could we afford as a community... The Port could have been more open and transparent throughout the process... it could have communicated more... The Port Commission was [also] pretty closed-minded, they felt they had done enough for the community with the Park and the Marina (as far as open spaces)... I think it's the matter of listening, too... I don't think in the past the Commission listened... [And] that is what made a lot of people angry...

Acknowledging previous mistakes not only added credibility to the Port, it also “quieted down” things in Hood River. Even community activists agreed that communication and listening were there now,

Things have quieted down... The Port Commission still doesn't quite see things our way, but things have quieted down considerably now... The new Port

Director is a lovely man, but what he has inherited... In any case, now there seems to be some change...

In an ideal world, this change would involve voicing one's concerns, listening to concerns of others, and working together on finding common ground. Mary wished,

The way you get things done is to sit at the table and work with people; provide your opinions, but also be open minded to the other side, and try to figure out the best pieces of all ideas... a lot of people will take their hill and they won't budge... When you are getting a group of people together, you want to try and find representative people, but you also want to make sure you invite people who are willing to participate – both speak up, and listen, and think...

Finally, there was an issue of transparency. With the community wanting to be a part of the planning process, the big mistake was to try and keep them uninformed by making decisions behind closed doors. Instead of making decision making easier for the Port or the City, it only further aggravated existing conflict. While it did not take long for the City of Hood River to realize how to fix the problem, the Port proceeded with the "old ways" of doing things. As one of those interviewed said, "for a long time the Port Commission was the organization a lot of people loved to hate, because there was a tremendous amount of arrogance..." Molly agreed,

With the Port planning, the process was not really transparent, and a lot of things got done behind closed doors... That's why the people are on them all the time, and [that's why] people don't trust the Port of Hood River and its Commission...

Complexity of the process only added to the lack of transparency. Brooke reflected,

I am not sure that there's ever a process that's that complicated that is transparent... Even people who were pretty intimately aware of what's going on, could not understand all the intricacies... I think there was a time when the processes were a lot simpler, now they are a lot more complicated because of the overlapping jurisdictions... You would have to expend a lot of time understanding it... I can't say [that the process] was transparent to the average person, as it was difficult to understand what's going on for the 'insider' as well...

The role of media in facilitating transparency of the process was heavily questioned by many of those who participated in the process. As one of the study participants summarized,

We don't really have a very good newspaper in this town... It's so confusing; I would hesitate sending anyone to them for a diary of what happened on the waterfront... They missed major points of discussion [in their coverage], delved into technical aspects without any explanation of the overarching ideas...

In minds of those who had been there over the years participating in a number of planning processes, appropriate media coverage was closely related with democratic ways of engaging the public. Quoting Brooke,

If you want to have a viable democracy, you must have active and intelligent free press... If you ask how to get the silent majority to participate, you have to give them good information... [and] it's been a tragedy [to me] that we don't have that in this community... some of my friends just shake their heads at the coverage of Port-related issues... it's very bad...

With this in mind, the Waterfront Park planning process attempted to unveil the curtain of secrecy over its actions and decisions that were being made. Most of those interviewed agreed that the Waterfront Park planning process was indeed public and transparent.

Jack,

I feel there were a lot of opportunities for the public to go ahead and comment... The PDC meetings were advertised and open to the public... [and] the PDC was very transparent throughout the entire process...

At the same time there were some of those who disagreed,

[Yes], it was transparent what was happening... Some of the meetings were kept brief as there were a lot of people who attended them and so some people didn't get to comment who wanted to... at one meeting it was every third person who wanted to comment.... [I think] it was unintentional, but it was skewed...

As with any other value laden process, waterfront planning processes in Hood River obviously had a dissonance of voices, each of those voices speaking strong for their

values and beliefs. In essence, this mix of voices reflected a multitude of worldviews on “what ought to be” happening in Hood River, and reconciling those worldviews was indeed not an easy task. To better understand where those worldviews originated, a number of things had to be explained – who were those people actively participating in Hood River planning processes, why did they participate, and how representative were they of a broader community. This theme of a multitude of worldviews is investigated in the section that follows.

Theme 2: A Multitude of Worldviews

As with other issues, it was not surprising to find views on who participated in planning processes in Hood River, diverging widely. Many of the study participants thought those were the new residents (someone called them “transplants”) who had strong feelings about nature and the waterfront – an illustration being Lawrence’s quote that the “new folks in town are driving the bus.” Others described them as “people who care about their community” (Jenny), or as “people who have time, money, and are educated” (Richard). Gene expressed his opinion,

There are a number of people in Hood River who are either retired, or whatever... they are at a point in their life when they do have more time to get involved in things like this... Maybe communities with working class or poor people are unable to get that involvement, because citizens don’t have the time... [I think] Hood River has more involvement than other places, but I think it’s a part of our tradition in Oregon, along with the fact that citizens of Hood River have a little bit more time they can invest in things like this...

On the other side, there was Kelly who thought that having enthusiastic retired people who have free time was a blessing for the community,

In this area, the citizens are very involved in directing the growth... [There are] people who advocated all the way... [and] it’s great to have people like that –

retired, who can spend the time fighting or joining for the cause... I wish other communities had people like that...

These people did however disturb some of the development plans for the waterfront, and those with vested business interests in the outcomes, did not appreciate that. As the “cold war” progressed, many of those on the environmental side of the spectrum were accused of being self-absorbed and not understanding of the needs of those advocating for industrial development on the waterfront, and eventually labeled as the “Progress Prevention Department” or “CAVEs” – Citizens Against Virtually Everything. Speaking about the group, one of the interviewees noted that “their ideology is, ‘we’ve got our little piece of paradise, and we don’t want anyone else to have it’...” Protecting their “paradise,” activists launched petitions, organized citizen initiatives, wrote letters to the editor in the local newspaper, and pursued any preventive measures available, to stop the unwanted development. Along with other newcomers to the area, they certainly realized that their values and worldviews differed from those of the old time residents and some of the business and property owners; while there was mutual understanding of these differences (or so everyone thought), nobody wanted to give up their position. Newcomers and activists commonly pointed out they consciously made the decision to move to Hood River for the quality of life, and they were ready to defend and protect the area from the “irresponsible” development. Jill reflected,

One of the reasons we live here is for the quality of life, not in a big city but in a small town... All of us came here... taking a huge pay reduction... not to be in a rat race...

Joshua added,

There’s a lot of people who came here for the quality of life... You have the river to play in, you have the mountain to play in, the school is accessible, you can

volunteer... Certainly, a large percentage of people recognize that, so they stay involved in whatever they are able to do...

Mary thought that being involved in city's affairs, just as volunteering, was what defined one as a citizen. "You want to make your community a better place... it is a part of being a citizen, I think..." she argued. And as the newcomers and the activists continued to get involved in public processes, balancing this multitude of worldviews was getting more and more challenging. Some of those community residents who did not actively participate in any of the processes but rather observed, commented on what was happening,

It's a very interesting contingent of the people who live in Hood River... They [all] want to have cake, and they want to eat it too... but that's not possible...

Now it was time to examine how representative were the most avid participants of the broader community. Were their worldviews balanced or marginal, and how did they effect the process? It appeared that Hood River was not too much different from other communities in attracting the most vocal and outspoken to public events, with the majority of residents remaining in the background. Brooke explained,

You know, when there are controversial things, there are always people who are very vocally outspoken, and they may represent a portion of the community... I feel the majority of the community [of Hood River] was in the middle – 'Can't we achieve a variety of goals for the waterfront?'... and those people are generally as the old term coined, the 'silent majority' – people who don't really talk that much about it, and primarily they don't because they are really busy trying to make ends meet... You will find it in many communities that there will be active people wanting to come out and speak... I am not sure they represent the 'silent majority'... [and] the fact that the other part of the community didn't come [to the meetings] doesn't mean they are not concerned...

Gene had a similar opinion on the issue,

Some of the people in town have the time they can commit to the public process, and they have a tendency to be more on the side that's strictly recreation... [and] I

think they were overrepresented... But I don't think it's because the other people didn't care, but because if you are working 60 hours a week trying to support your family, you don't have the time to go to the public meetings... It's a reality...

Then, there was Tracy who further concurred,

[They are only] a segment of the population... only because I hear from another segment... They are very organized and vocal... they have a dream and a goal, which is wonderful, but there are other people who don't share that dream... The other group... they want to see something done, but they want to retain jobs and see new jobs, they want to see a place where their children can get a job, so they could stay in the community...

On the other side, there was Jack who thought the lack of broad public participation could be explained by the faith in elected officials,

For the most part, when you call a public hearing and you don't see a lot of people, I think the community... number one – they either don't care, or number two – they have a lot of faith and confidence in the governing body to make the right decision...

At the same time, the activists, he believed, represented a good cross section of the community,

There is one person in particular who represents a good cross section of the community who cares about the environment, its natural resources, and cares that industry and commercialism do not outweigh those other two needs – to protect the natural resources and the environment. . .

Trying to learn from past mistakes, the PDC, the City, and the Port all tried to address the issue of engaging the “silent majority” in public processes. Planning a series of public events organized to gather community input on the Waterfront Park plan, the PDC addressed the issue of broad and representative participation by ensuring process transparency, providing necessary information, and reaching out to various segments of the community. As a result, Joshua was sure they obtained a balanced picture of what the residents of Hood River truly wanted,

There were definitely opinions [about the Waterfront Park], but it was very well received... We got everyone – from active users of the waterfront, to groups that are strongly ‘environmental restoration is the only thing; no people are allowed in there,’ activists who didn’t want any development on the waterfront... But the majority of the citizens of Hood River wanted [the waterfront] to be green public land...

There was a positive feeling in the community that [for the moment] things were going right, and that finally Hood River residents won their big battle, got what they wanted, and even more – designed the new Waterfront Park themselves. The “cold war” ended, and even the Port embraced the “new ways” and was listening to the public. One of the Port commissioners explained,

There are legal structures for giving the ‘silent majority’ other avenues [of voicing their concerns]... While people can come in and speak at Port meetings, very few people ever take advantage of that... And if you just rely on that and say, ‘Hey, you could have come and talked to us,’ you are not fulfilling your role... You can’t just have a passive environment – you have to go out in the community, and talk to them... Otherwise you are not going to get anywhere...

These legal structures meant that public processes had to be planned, that there had to be a deliberate effort to reach out to those otherwise silent. Quoting Mary,

The public process has to be planned, because one thing that does happen is that often times there is a ‘silent majority,’ and a real vocal minority... So when you are planning your public process, you have to make sure you invite your quiet people... If you ask for a bunch of volunteers, if you only get applications from your vocal group, then you need to get out and find people... Otherwise you are not doing a satisfactory job putting together a group that would represent your community...

This only explained the point made earlier by Sam who argued that competing worldviews/ value systems were not the only factor explaining the lack of consensus on the waterfront land development in Hood River. The two other factors playing into the process were the high stakes involved, and a false approach to the process. Here, the views of many of those interviewed converged – it was not only the outcome that was

important, but the process as well. While people tended to get involved because of the threat to their lifestyles, and community involvement in a way defined why the process took so long (Luke), ultimately it was the bad process that the community revolted against. This false process did not allow for a dialogue but rather forced decisions onto the community with which they did not agree. Many thought this was mainly because of poor leadership, and that new fresh faces would change this. Indeed, this appeared to be the case. Over and over again, the theme of community leadership was brought up to illustrate how Hood River turned around to try and resolve the deadlock that had lasted for decades.

Theme 3: Community Leadership

Community leadership in Hood River was a very emotional topic of discussion. Every interview resorted back to leadership being one of the core elements of a successful public process. Many described the recent change in leadership as a move from the “good old boys” system to working closer with the community. This was perhaps one of the few, if not the single topic that generated a broad consensus; most of those interviewed were illustrating the change with an example of the current Port Director and the Port Commission who themselves partly acknowledged the false approach of their predecessors. As in a chess game, it was the change of figures that reversed an existing strategy and initiated a new approach to working with the others. As one of the respondents said,

Any elegantly designed process can be disrupted by the people who know how to manipulate portions of it... Smart caring people will make [laws and regulations] work, and people who want to sabotage [the process] will use them to sabotage it... You can't have someone who is a bad actor and a bad player in that

process... like the former Port Director... they can twist and turn those rules and laws, and use them as weapons...

With tensions escalating beyond the point of control, there was an urgent need for new leadership that would listen and talk to various constituencies, as well as give the process a sense of direction that was lacking. While the new Port Director exhibited these qualities, at times the community was still puzzled with where exactly the Port was going. Jack expressed his view of the current Port leadership this way,

I think it took so long to get to this point because there has always been a disconnect between the Port, the City, and the citizens... and I think that over the last couple of years the three entities have been able to come together and say, 'This is for the best of the community'... There aren't a lot of people in the community that understand why it has been so difficult for the Port to develop properties down there, and nobody understands why the Port hasn't given up any property on the waterfront for recreation and open space... I think maybe because they didn't know what the community wanted... For a while there was a very big problem between the Port staff and the citizenry, the Port staff and the City staff... The Port continues to try and reinvent the wheel... they have a bunch of studies done... maybe they want to hit the home run, and go in and say, 'We want to develop everything,' and have this great thing... My own personal opinion is that the Port doesn't know which direction it wants to go...

This lack of direction was further illustrated by comparing Hood River to the neighboring communities of Cascade Locks and The Dalles. With two towns pursuing directly opposite waterfront development strategies, Hood River found itself torn apart in two different directions. As one of the respondents explained,

25 miles downstream we have the Port of Cascade Locks, and 20 miles upstream there is the Port of The Dalles, and exactly in the middle you have the Port of Hood River... In Cascade Locks, their philosophy is going toward more recreation, open spaces... everybody [there] wants to do recreation and tourism... The port of The Dalles is more, 'let's get Google in, let's get some big companies, some industry, let's sell our property and let's make this work for light industrial open space, and be light industrial and commercial'... Here in the middle, you have the Port of Hood River that is looking up and down the river, and they don't know which way to go... The only analogy I use is that it's kind of like a horse between two hay bails, and the horse is starving, so it's looking at two hay bails

and doesn't know which one to go to, and so it starves as it can't make a decision...

Molly described this as the “splintered direction” of the Port, and argued it was one of the reasons why the Port could not get things done. Another side of the issue was the makeup of the Port Commission – of what many called the “good old boys club” (“long time residents, well known, part of the ruling group, think they know everything”). These “good old boys” not only “lost their way,” but also were disconnected from the rest of Hood River community. Jill explained,

The problem has been that the Port has been generally made up of ‘good old boys,’ who have failed to realize what an asset their waterfront property is to everything – to tourism, to the community, and to the quality of life...they own what we call ‘the front door of the town’ and they’ve been such important players...[Over the years] the Port has had different plans for the whole area, and [even though] they have been trying to be very private and not transparent, it’s a small town, and people talk... Now, things have changed, but it’s been slow...

One of the interviewees thought these “good old boys” “dug their heels in,” mostly because they treated the mission of the Port as business development only, overlooking the section of the mission statement that focused on improving the quality of life of residents within the Port District,

The Port tends to ‘dig their heels in,’ probably more than the City does... I’d say, the Port has tended over the years not to involve the public as much as the other elective bodies do, maybe because they are smaller in scope... For the most part, right now I think if there was one different Port commissioner, things would change a lot... there’s two of them that have been on a long time, ‘good old boys’... they don’t have as broad a view or the ability to see what really could be down there... they run it too much like a business for the Port, instead of the Port working for the community...

In a similar manner, another interviewee pointed out the flaws of how the Port goes about doing its business,

There has been an opinion against the Port, that they do a lot of things in closed sessions... Port does not have a transparent government, and there's a lot of people that believe that... Some of the things that happened in the past with the Port made people very skeptical about what goes on... For example, it's very difficult to get a budget from them... [even though] they are a public organization and those are public documents... I just feel the Port is very territorial in what they do... [and] if they don't want to do something, they will find the way not to do it... I can't explain it, maybe it's a bad practice they have had for years, or maybe they are tired of taking shots from the community... It could be a multiple number of things... [All in all, they are] not being able to sit at the table and work with different people... [and] that has been a reason for a stagnation here...

Yet another opinion centered on the lack of competence and the way the Port

Commission gets elected,

The reason why things didn't work very smoothly is because of incompetence and lack of leadership in the Port of Hood River... People get elected because they are someone's friends, rather than because they are competent in what they are doing... [Right now], only two out of the five commissioners are competent, and it's very hard to get things done with two people... We have to encourage talented and bright people who care about the community and who can bring about a change, to run for the Port Commission...

Kelly thought this was not so much an issue of incompetence as being "entrenched in old ways." This is how she explained her view,

Some of the people in the Port Commission are entrenched in old ways... [Also], the Port directors have not been guiding right and have not made proper decisions for the community... That is why people have been very skeptical of the Port... Now, with the land donation, this gives Port some credibility...

Brooke thought that donating the land took the Port "off the hook" and helped ease the tensions,

Donating the waterfront... took the Port 'off the hook,' and forced all those players who kept on saying, 'we need the Park, damn it,' to suddenly say, 'Now we have this land, how do we make this Park, how do we raise the money'... Those people, to their credit, came up to the plate, made the decision and participated in the PDC that the City and the Port created, and had done a marvelous job – getting the grant from the state, and starting to coalesce the people...

Even though the land donation occurred under the old Port Director, it was not his voluntary step; the decision was rather forced onto him by the Port Commission who realized at that time that this form of “peace offering” would initiate a long awaited process of reconciliation. While views about the old Port Director were not quite unified, most of those interviewed agreed the change in leadership was long needed and the change was only for the better. Some argued that the old Port Director “lacked integrity and was not a community player... if anyone had an opinion different than his, he didn’t want to hear it,” while the new one exhibited qualities of a listener and a consensus builder. Speaking about the two men, Brooke noted,

There were people on the far outside left side who thrived on the conflict that was created by the [old] Port Director who was so antagonistic ... Once he left, and the Port started talking about things in a more rational and collaborative way, a lot of those voices had quieted down... They didn’t have anything to complain about anymore...

[The new Port Director]... there is a calm center about him... He is very respectful of people, very smart, and has a tremendous amount of experience in creating environment in the Port...

One of the Port commissioners concurred,

[The new Port Director] has been instrumental... He is a consensus builder, and a bridge builder... He is able to go out, and he is a good listener... He has really helped to move us forward, to get the word out and communicate [with the community]... We also have a Commission now that understands that – that they have to listen... and everyone on the Commission supports where it’s going, whereas 7-12 years ago that was not the case, there was a lot of contention... The Port wanted to do what they wanted to do...

With the change in leadership, there was also a new attitude brought to the process.

Quoting Joshua,

There was a big divide between the Port of Hood River and an active group of citizens... The whole 20-year discussion thing... there were players that weren’t playing, on both sides of the equation... there was conspiracy, people were saying

bad things about each other... [In addition], there was never a well communicated vision of what the Port would be like, and the Port has not been historically very transparent in how they do business, but that has changed with the current Board and Director...he brought a new attitude to the process...

As the new Port Director has been working on building relationships with the City Council, City staff, and the citizenry, the City of Hood River itself was undergoing changes in how it was doing its business. The past problem with leadership concerned not only the Port, but the City as well. One of the respondents noted,

When I first got here, citizenry had the same problem with the City – they couldn't get the answers they wanted, or documents... [We] put a stop to that, saying, 'Look, we will work with everybody, and this is how we are going to do it...'

Jenny noticed these changes in how the City Council meetings are being held today; there was no need to "take extreme measures to be heard," she argued. Both the City and the Port had been trying to understand their constituencies and find the way to work together with everyone. And even though the "old ways" were not going to change overnight, this was "a start of a change," in Mary's words.

The land donation brought to light yet another leadership constituency – the community themselves. While at the beginning one could overhear sarcastic remarks that nothing would happen as the citizens would not be able to come together in an organized manner to get things done, with time both the WCPA and the PDC proved this wrong.

Quoting Mary,

The Waterfront Committee has raised a lot of money already, they have shown and continue to show strong community input, and I don't know if the Port Commission was surprised that it wasn't just a vocal minority... that it was a really broad group...

And so the leadership and community appeared to have a complex relationship in Hood River – while citizens were causing the change in the city leadership, the latter was revising their ways of working with the public. Everyone was tired from the angst, and the time had come to try and find common ground. As the key people were learning to “get the traction” with each other and the community, tensions subsided, even though everybody was keeping a watchful eye on the process.

Before it got to this point, one of the most controversial decisions catching public attention was the one of public access to the waterfront. As proud owners of their community, residents of Hood River did not want to give up their right to enjoy the river, and so the theme of public access to the waterfront dominated most of the interviews.

Theme 4: Public Access to the Waterfront (Waterfront Park and Trail)

The history of the waterfront in the City of Hood River is rather fascinating. Initially created for industrial uses, it became one of the most valuable community assets and instigated one of the most heated discussions Hood River has ever witnessed. Tracy and Brooke found it both humorous and amazing.

Tracy recalled,

Hood River has been struggling for 25 years with that piece of property down there... And what's very interesting from my standpoint is that that piece of property didn't exist, it's a man made piece of property... At the time they did that fill, there were people who thought this was absolutely crazy... they thought it was a major mistake to fill that in and create a waterfront... So it's amazing how it has swung around and became 'sacred ground'...

Brooke further added,

I find it humorous that the Port created [the waterfront], and suddenly the community considered it their asset.... While it makes people angry to think that the Port should have control over the waterfront, I consider it a good thing... That

means you've created something valuable... What if you created it and everyone hated it, and wanted it to go away...

But the community did not want the waterfront to go away; instead, it wanted to put it to use. What was the best use for that land became the major point of discussion, and "lot 6" (location of the Waterfront Park) became a rallying point for the citizenry. As Gene pointed out,

I think everybody agreed that with our waterfront we've got incredible potential... It could be incredibly beautiful... So everybody has their own idea what would be the neatest thing to do, but these ideas go in divergent directions... Plus, there was trouble compromising, as people were rigid in their stance of what was right, and that caused the conflict...

While the Port envisioned the waterfront property as a place for an industrial park/commerce, the public wanted to keep it to themselves and ensure they retained access to the river. One of the respondents explained,

People who [initially] supported creation of the waterfront, did it because they wanted jobs for their children, so they could stay in the community, and they feel it's their right to it... Then there is the other constituency – the recent migrants, who came here because they saw the beautiful place and had certain expectations about the quality of life here... one of them was the ability to look across the waterfront and see the river... so they felt they had a stake to keep it relatively the way it was... So from my perspective, I feel we should get to a point where we can understand why this man up in Parksville [Upper Hood River Valley] wanted a place for his children to have a job, and we can understand why new residents wanted wide open spaces for recreation in their community... We ought to be able to find a middle ground...

Then, there was a third group of people like Gene, who wanted "anything" to happen on the waterfront; any type of development over what was there at the moment,

It was to the point that I wanted to see something happening at the waterfront, something that would make it pretty and make us enjoy it in some format of some kind... I just want something to happen, and anything to me right now would be an improvement over what's there right now... And its gotten much better... 20 years ago it looked like bombs had gone up over that place...

With views this different, the Port of Hood River found itself responsible for making one of the most important decisions in its history – the one that would fit within its mission statement and satisfy the public all at the same time; however, instead of reaching out to those who would eventually be affected by the development, it decided to pursue its old vision of what ought to happen on the waterfront. As the view of the Port clashed with the one of the community, both parties insisted their proposed scenario would benefit the city most. On one side, there were ones like Mary who insisted that public waterfront could be a “gem” bringing businesses to Hood River, and that there were too many people with “blinders on,” not realizing what a valuable asset they had,

One of the concerns now about the current Port is that they are looking for what they can do the best for the Port, while one of their charges is to look at economic development of the whole District... Rather than just focusing on their own bottom line, they need to be focusing on the economic development for the whole area... And I always felt that our beautiful waterfront could be a draw not only for tourism, but also for economic development... as most business owners first visit a location as tourists, and then they will figure out the way to move there, because they like the area... So tourism is a wonderful form of economic development, not only for tourism businesses... I know a ton of people here who moved here after first visiting the area as tourists... [You know], if you don't polish your gem, you are hurting yourself...

Kelly further added,

This Park will be a catalyst for development; it will be an amenity... Like, look where you get to go have lunch, get out of your box building...

Serving as a catalyst for development, the Waterfront Park would potentially create an environment for the value-added industries the city was mostly interested in attracting.

One of the Waterfront Park proponents remarked,

Having parkland, having the walkway all the way around would create an environment that would attract the kinds of companies we began to think would be better there than housing [or industry]... companies that are knowledge based, that employ people for their brain, their ability to create... The creative class

needs the environment in which it is creative... and [companies] interested in the waterfront would be willing to pay a premium for an environment that's energizing... So the Park and public amenities there would create a place that certain kinds of businesses want to associate with...

On the other side, there were people like Lawrence who argued that while the Park was a wonderful idea, the real issue was who was going to pay for its construction and maintenance. Quoting one of the respondents,

Certainly, financing has been intact... It hasn't been a matter that something could not be afforded... obviously we've got the resources there... So it was just diverging ideas as to where it should go, and to what degree it should be strictly recreational as opposed to having some kind of income basis that supports the recreation... There has to be a point... you can only tax yourself so much... if you are going to have a Park and you need to maintain it, where does the money come from?...

There also were more radical views,

Waterfront Park was a stupid idea... You need something on the waterfront to attract and keep people there – for example, a mix of residential, light industrial and mixed use... It's a good idea, but who is going to pay for it? Instead, this area needs something to keep people on the waterfront – industry, or commerce...

Sam referred to those as “anchors” on the waterfront that could be used to build development around them, while recognizing that this indeed was a challenging task. He acknowledged that it was not smart for the Port to pursue industrial development only, but rather try and invest efforts in finding compromise with the community – not in a way of “figuring out everything,” but rather focusing on masterplanning, “leaving the rest open for discussion.” Stubbornness was not going to help – three previous Port Directors left because of the waterfront; instead, the Port needed to acknowledge that things had changed, and views had changed; with new residents, new beliefs were introduced about the role of nature and the river, as well as the role of development and jobs. The community wanted jobs, development, and protected environment all at the same time,

and the challenge was not to persuade them, but to find the best way to mix the two. One of the Port commissioners reflected on how this changed the work of the commission,

At the time what we struggled with was trying to find a mixture between open space and some place to put as we call it, 'family wage level jobs'... Hood River County is in dire need of land in order to facilitate the retention and building of family wage level jobs... [and] this is one of the largest blocks to do it on, this waterfront, and that's how its currently zoned... What the Port Commission is challenged with [right now] is how we can blend jobs with recreation...

Another respondent explained,

It is difficult to live here, especially for young people... There are no jobs, and you cannot ignore the economy... We are a limited landlocked county and we need to develop this land... for affordable housing, commercial development, recreation, and industrial development... We need to move forward on the central core of the waterfront, and use this momentum [referring to the Waterfront Park] as a starting point, to further development...

At the same time, there was a broad consensus about the need to attract intelligent and smart development to the waterfront. As Gene put it,

We need to be careful about what we bring in... So I'm not opposed to development, but I would like it to be intelligent development... [even though] I realize that what I consider intelligent growth might not be what others consider intelligent growth...

Mary put forward examples from other countries in how this compromise might be achieved,

What I've seen in Europe and China ... You have a lake, or riverfront, and then a linear park with sidewalks, benches, trees, and gardens... and then a road, and then you have your commercial, residential... mixed use... but this narrow strip along the water is for everybody to enjoy... So this turns into an attraction, because everybody can enjoy it... Businesses benefit from the waterfront, but so does everybody else... I think that's the kind of focus that we've talked about here, but haven't gotten there yet, and it's been over 20 years... And we have this resource we are not using... because everyone has different opinions on what to do with it...

The value of the waterfront as a resource for development was acknowledged by all, while its recreational value was especially emphasized by those who came to Hood River for the quality of life. They spoke of the times of Koberg Beach when the river was used for recreation, and regretted that not everyone in the community realized what a tremendous resource their waterfront was,

People went to Koberg Beach for recreation... they had an area for people to swim, they had docks... people then used the river... But by the time we got here – in the 1970s – the river was used more for fishing, and wasn't used until the windsurfing thing hit... People thought it was dangerous... [it was also] the fact that the interstate separated them from it, they didn't realize what they had, and all of us... we came here and were like, 'Oh my God, this is a tremendous resource that should be enhanced'... you keep this green and do whatever you want behind, try to keep [the buildings] not too tall... we can work with that, we can put trees and things... And the Port wanted to do other things, so there's been a lot of conflict between the Port and people like myself... sometimes more, sometimes less, depending on who the Port Director was...

This point of view was common among those wishing to retain public access to the waterfront in the form of a trail skirting the waterline, and a public Waterfront Park. Both ideas have circulated around for a long time, and became a rallying point for the community. Not being able to achieve anything through discussion or compromise, citizens petitioned and initiated ballot measures to voice their concerns. Even though some of the ballot outcomes were non binding, the message was clear, and the first big victory was the trail that now runs along the waterline; finally, in 2005 the second idea materialized with the IGA and the Waterfront Park land donation by the Port. The two-year process of fundraising and Park design restored that sense of ownership the public almost lost in all the battles. Now, the challenge was to practically implement the strategy and proceed with Park construction. Joshua compared this situation with the "little boy that cried wolf" story,

One of the things we are struggling with right now is the “little boy that cried wolf” story – when we say we are going to build a Park, and people don’t believe it... Having the bulldozer there will shift this paradigm to, ‘Oh my gosh, they are doing it’...

As this was being written, the first construction phase for the Hood River Waterfront Park was well on the way, with bulldozers and trucks moving dirt and proceeding with the vision of what the citizenry had been fighting for over many years. Not only had the Waterfront Park brought about a shift in community dynamics and changed existing planning traditions in Hood River, inadvertently when completed it will become another popular tourist attraction for those flocking to the area.

Even prior to the Waterfront Park construction, the City of Hood River has witnessed growing numbers of visitors every year. As more and more tourists are traveling to the area to enjoy water sports and outdoor activities, arts, scenic driving, and agritourism, the community has been experiencing a number of tourism impacts and community changes not always perceived as positive. The theme of tourism impacts and community changes is further discussed in the section that follows.

Theme 5: Tourism Impacts and Other Community Changes

Over the years, the City of Hood River has undergone a number of tremendous changes, the most notable one being the shift from timber and agriculture, to tourism and recreation. With the decline of timber and increased competition in agriculture, tourism appeared as the most logical path to follow, given the unique natural resources of the area. While most of those interviewed realized that tourism development was inevitable for Hood River, its impacts were debated – some argued that tourism helped diversify the regional economy and was in essence a “blessing” for the area, while the others wanted to

pull down the gate and stop the influx of visitors to the region. Common themes circulating throughout most of the interviews were changes in the community brought by tourism, and resident attitudes towards tourism and tourists.

The first appearance of Hood River on the destination map came as early as the times of the World's Fair in Chicago in the 1890s. At this time, there was a concerted effort to promote the area as a vacation destination; most of the old postcards picture Hood River as a place of agriculture and scenic driving. The purpose of this effort was twofold – to sell real estate in the area, but more so – to sell fruit – Hood River apples and pears. However, it was not until the 1980s that the real paradigm shift occurred with windsurfing coming to the region. The timing was good – timber was leaving the scene, and agriculture was searching for the new ways to sell its products. Gene recalled,

20 years ago, Hood River was economically... not depressed, but not showing a boom time... the main industries were timber and the fruit industry... there were three lumber mills in the county, and now we have one... fruit is still very important to this community, it's still a very strong force... when I first moved here, there [also] was a large canning operation, but now it's gone... so we still grow the fruit and sell it, but the processing is not done in Hood River anymore...

The role of tourism as the economic/ business driver was evident – Oak Street (the main street in Hood River) today is full of small businesses ranging from ice cream and coffee shops to fancy restaurants, souvenir stores, and outdoor sports apparel. A decade ago, this street looked quite different. Karin recalled,

There were several empty storefronts on Oak Street, even in 2000... Now it's all prime real estate... [Tourism] has definitely changed the real estate market... home values have gone through the roof, and now the whole Gorge is very expensive real estate...

Kelly was involved with several businesses over the years, and also noticed these changes,

Windsurfing is what brought this community back from recession... There used to be five-six vacancies on Oak Street, and now it's all occupied and infilling... Diversity of the businesses... unfortunately, [tourism] squeezed out people like our small hardware store on the corner... but some of the unique small businesses opened up... what we have now is better serving community needs...

Not only was it because of the winds, but also because of the prime location of Hood River. As Mary pointed out,

Hood River is at the heart of the Gorge, and gets a bulk of the tourist dollars, and has developed vastly... it's primarily because of our location that we've been fortunate... Tourists don't go to visit the county or a town, they go to visit a region... a lot of people are probably not even aware where Washington or Oregon is – they are here to see the Gorge...

With changes most apparent in the downtown area, some of those interviewed spoke of Hood River as being “pretty, but very touristy” (Lora). This boom of tourism not only brought businesses and tourists with money to spend, but also raised real estate prices while offering low paying jobs instead. Both of these issues were of a great concern for residents of the city. Some spoke of not being able to purchase a property within the city boundaries, and others used examples of some of the residents who had to buy their properties some place else and commute to Hood River for work. Speaking of the housing prices and other community changes, Tracy noted,

10 years ago there was no downtown, it was vacant, a lot of emptiness... now it's pretty vital... [Yes], tourism has changed the economy, and there are problems... Our housing prices are insane – \$370,000 for the medium price house... it's just insane... Maybe with everything that's going on, things will settle back down...

I'm seeing a change [in Hood River], but where it's going to go... They are talking about having three or four stop lights on the Oak Street... which is strange...

In a similar manner, Gene was concerned that the city was becoming an “elite community,” lacking opportunities for young families to make a living,

I definitely love Hood River, and I want the best for Hood River... We are a beautiful community, at a beautiful location, with a lot of incredible involved people... [At the same time] I have concerns that Hood River is becoming somewhat of an 'elite community'... the cost of living has gone up a lot in the last 20 years...

With businesses and the economy turning to tourism, the residents were hesitant to support further tourism development on the waterfront; in fact, some of the waterfront plans developed by the Port of Hood River that centered on tourism, were not met with enthusiasm. While the community supported tourism, they were picky about the type of tourism that would "fit," and indeed they did not like the idea of all tourism related businesses on the waterfront. Jill spoke of a proposed hotel and condo development on the waterfront that fell through several years ago,

The question really is, 'who does the hotel benefit?'... Tourism is great, but in a town like this we don't need one dominant hotel, but a variety of lodging – boutique-type hotels... A lot of us would like to see a mix of things, yes, have some hotels, but not one big hotel that dominates the waterfront... The scale of our town is small, the scale of buildings is small, so we don't want large buildings here...

Many of those interviewed pointed out the biggest weakness of the tourism industry as providing partial employment, part time jobs, low wages, and not offering affordable housing to their staff. Speaking of choices Hood River has, Tracy said,

Hood River was timber, then agriculture, and then probably tourism... Timber – sorry, it's not gonna happen... it's not dead, but not a sustainable industry either... Agriculture is struggling, they have heavy competition from overseas... it's a hard industry to grow... Tourism is a service industry, and I don't see a lot of family wage level jobs in tourism... That's why we need fringe industries...

Those in the tourism and hospitality industry objected, but eventually agreed,

Of course, particularly looking at hospitality or tourism... those are not necessarily great paying jobs, and of course any community would like something with family wage jobs... But I think there's a bit of the misconception there – hospitality jobs are not that bad as they are perceived to be; but they are not the

greatest paying jobs [either]... So there are conflicting ideas [as to what type of development to pursue]...

With this said, the biggest challenge the City and Port of Hood River will have to overcome in the future is how to balance “fringe industries” with tourism/ recreation, and public amenities for the community. Ensuring “intelligent” and sustainable development will not only create a healthy and diverse economy, but will also help resolve some of the most pressing issues Hood River is facing right now.

Besides apparent economic benefits and costs of tourism, Hood River has experienced a number of social impacts, particularly in how the resident-tourist interactions occurred. With the influx of new residents in the 1980s, the community had to reassess its attitudes to tourism development and tourists in particular. Karin recalled,

There was really a lot of tension... The resident population was really agriculture and timber based, and then all these tourists came in, and tourism became an economic driver... There was a fear that tourists were going to take the place away from local residents... which to a certain extent is true, as tourists block your access to the things you normally do... [On the other hand], people relocated their businesses to where they wanted to play – that’s where they wanted to work, so that’s been fantastic...

Transition to a tourism economy, just as the change of community makeup, were not met without resistance. There was apparent tension between the “ugly locals” and the “boardheads,” which caused a certain hostility. Gene explained,

When I first moved here 20 years ago, there was a bit of friction between the ‘boardheads’ and the ‘ugly locals’... a lot of it was truly humor... people were making fun of each other and not meaning any hostility, but unfortunately there was some hostility... Over the years, as the people got to know each other better, a lot of the hostility has gone away... As the ‘ugly locals’ realized that the ‘boardheads’ brought the life and vitality to the community, the ‘boardheads’ came to realize that the ‘ugly locals’ knew something about the area... In general, I think, there’s respect between the two sides right now, even if there’s no agreement on ideas...

At times this contention was no longer humorous; even though the older residents realized the change was inevitable, they tried to resist it. Quoting Luke,

A new group of people that came was met not without resistance... It created new dynamics in the town... people coming, spending money... for some, it was a great thing, for others – a horrible thing...

At times this created the “us” against “them” situation, however several of the respondents thought this was mostly generational. Joshua illustrated this with his personal experience,

Within the social circle I’m in, there are people that grew up here in multiple generations... they, and other people within the community think, ‘we had a perfectly fine little town, and then tourists came and made it fancy and expensive’... I think it’s sort of common in other places as well...this ‘them’ versus ‘us’...

Kelly agreed that as in many other communities, some of the residents of Hood River retained an “old family mentality, entrenched in a lot of ways.” She thought the sheer numbers of tourists were partially to blame,

It’s very different here in the summer... The locals go, ‘ohh, it’s September, and they are leaving, hopefully’... I’d say, the town definitely quadruples...

Not being able to control the types and numbers of tourists coming to the area, Hood River has been undergoing a real tourism boom. The outdoor adventure and recreation were not the only two biggest growing segments; skiing and snowboarding started to pick up, followed by agritourism (Fruit Loop map was the second most requested brochure at the Visitor Center), scenic drives, byways, and drive around the mountains, as well as the contemporary arts scene. At times uncontrolled, tourism development in the area brought about many changes experienced both by the old time residents, as well as those who moved to the community in the 1970s-1980s. Changes affecting community fabric and

social capital appeared the most important in minds of those living in the city. They are further discussed in the section that follows.

Theme 6: Community Fabric and Social Capital

One of the most notable impacts of tourism and other developments in Hood River was the change of community fabric and the threat of losing social capital. While economic growth and business development were unquestionably important for the residents of the city, it was the social change that raised concerns. The two issues that were at the forefront of attention were what kind of development would the waterfront attract, and vacation rentals. Speaking about the type of development, Kelly remarked,

My understanding talking to everybody... you can't fight competition, but they would rather not have this type of development... because of who it's going to bring... it won't bring the 'little guy,' but major chain stores...

The attitude to the major chain stores in Hood River was overwhelmingly unfavorable. First, there was the case of a Burger King that stumbled right after it took off; most recently, the City reviewed another proposal – of a Super Wal-Mart – and as a result of pressure from the community, adopted the policy not to allow commercial development over 50,000 square feet. While some wholeheartedly celebrated this policy, others pointed out that economically it was not a smart move as the City of Hood River would be “losing \$20,000,000-\$30,000,000 in trade leakage to Portland and The Dalles” (where the store would eventually move), and that ultimately, it was not about the scale, but about the chain itself. Even though Hood River has been turning into a tourist town, the Downtown Business Association and the residents were fighting any other major changes that were coming their way. Unable to change what was already happening, they were

responding in a reactive way to the shifts that would impact their community. Tracy regretfully recalled,

I do hear that downtown we used to have banks, drug stores... [it gets] frustrating because we don't have those anymore, we've become a tourist town...

Then, there was the issue of housing. One after another, respondents pointed out how expensive it has become to live in Hood River, and how the community was turning unwelcoming to the young people,

A person who has a good job cannot afford to buy a house in Hood River, unless there are two people working, and they have some sort of money to get into the market... and that's sad... There are still people coming, but it's hard to live here... you have to have some money in order to live here... You may have to come here with money to get into the housing market, or to have a job in order to make the money to live here... A lot of young people have to work two or three jobs... it's [because of] tourism... until we can get that built up...

Kelly agreed. While tourism has become a very important industry for Hood River, she argued, it brought with it minimum level jobs and the problem of housing. Not only was the housing becoming unaffordable for the local residents, Hood River has been seeing a lot of second homes/ vacation rentals, and the community did not like it. Karin recalled her real estate friend telling her that eight out of ten houses sold in the community, were second homes. This was creating yet another issue Hood River had to deal with – the issue of who its residents were becoming, and how they were contributing to their community. Agreeing with the common opinion that vacation rentals were an issue for Hood River, Tracy argued,

We have a lot of second homes, so a lot of streets are kind of dark in the wintertime... [Hopefully], as the economy shifts in the U.S., the housing prices will drop here [as well]...

Others called those “dark neighborhoods.” It was not unusual to hear someone say, “oh yes, there are many second home neighborhoods in Hood River... I live in one...we call them ‘dark neighborhoods,’ as there are no lights on in those houses...”

Many of the residents acknowledged that the attitude towards “summer residents”/ second home owners was not quite favorable in the community. Brooke explained,

We have a lot of second homes in the downtown area, and a lot of people who are here only on the weekends ... You can drive down the street here in the fall and winter and see that the majority of houses have no lights on... because they are owned by people from Seattle, Portland, and other places, who come here only for the summer season... There are a lot of negative feelings here about summer residents...

Sam and Jack both agreed these negative feelings were caused by the public perception that, first of all, Hood River was becoming a “transient community,” and second, second home owners were a “drain on the community resource.” Jack illustrated this with an example of one of the Port plans that focused on residential development on the waterfront,

Putting a lot of residential [development] on the waterfront [would not only] mess up the view corridor, it would be a drain on the community resource, because basically people who are going to live there are going to live there part time throughout the year, and the residents didn’t want that...

And so the citizenry once again pulled their resources to voice common concerns of what type of development/ change was not welcome in Hood River. Once again, the City, the Port, and the community engaged in what someone called “an extraordinary tap dance” to try and find a compromise of what would work in the community. Sam thought that in order to solve the problem, four elements needed to be addressed – “attitude, listening, wanting to compromise, and facilitating the process so it’s not only about winning or

losing, but rather about perceiving this situation as an opportunity, not a problem.” Until then, as long as the key players would each pursue their own vision of what ought to be, this “tap dance” would continue.

Even though the negative impacts brought about by tourism and other types of development in Hood River stimulated emotional discussions, remarkably the residents of the area remained optimistic and were constantly balancing the negatives with the positives. Tracy pointed out that past battles had taught everyone a lesson of the importance of dialogue and compromise,

I’ve seen change in the attitude in the last two-three years... There seems to be less contention, more people reaching out, trying to find consensus... There’s less ‘us against them,’ and more people in the middle, trying to build consensus on both sides... There has been a change in people, many people [had to learn] to listen... doesn’t mean they had to change their minds, but they had to listen... and it’s hard for some people...

Then, there was Mary who believed Hood River was becoming a more progressive community,

There’s a lot more restaurants [here], and that’s tourism driven... It’s a more progressive community now; it used to be more conservative... [and it is] because of the people who moved here... What I don’t like is when people come in here and try to make changes quickly... And it’s like they came and, okay, now I’ve got mine, you can’t have yours, we are here we don’t want changes... Well nothing is going to stay just the way it is...

This notion of inevitable change was in the air; with the new Waterfront Park, Hood River community won its first big battle, yet concerns remained of what was going to follow. As the Port of Hood River was working on its newest waterfront development strategy, the citizenry kept its watchful eye on the type of development that was going to be proposed, staying alert and prepared to defend and protect the spirit of their community.

Case Study 3: Official Community Planning and Rezoning of Weyerhaeuser Lands

(Ucluelet, British Columbia)

(See Appendix D for a collection of maps of the Province of British Columbia, the District of Ucluelet, and Weyerhaeuser lands master plan).

The Context: “Life on the Edge”

The District of Ucluelet (pronounced “you-clue-let”, meaning “safe harbor”) is located on the west coast of Vancouver Island, at the southern tip of the Ucluth Peninsula, on the west side of Barkley Sound. It encompasses 670 hectares of land and 478 hectares of water. Approximately 99km, or 61.5miles to the east lays the closest City of Port Alberni, and 42km, or 26miles northwest of Ucluelet is the District of Tofino. In between Tofino and Ucluelet is the Long Beach Unit of Pacific Rim National Park Reserve. The region is characterized by miles of sandy beaches interrupted by rocky headlands and fringed by an old growth temperate rainforest, and is isolated from the rest of Vancouver Island by the long spine of the Vancouver Island Range (District of Ucluelet, 2005). Ucluelet is within eight hour driving distance from Seattle (Washington), within five hour driving from Vancouver (British Columbia), and within four-and-a-half hour driving from the capital of Victoria (British Columbia).

Even though Ucluelet became incorporated as a Village in 1952 and changed its status to a District Municipality in 1997, archaeological evidence indicates the presence of First Nations (Native Americans) in the area for at least 4300 years. Historical records indicate 1778 as the year when Captain James Cook of the British Navy first set foot on the west coast of Vancouver Island, just 100km, or 62 miles north of Ucluelet, to be

followed in 1787 by Captain James Barkley. In 1870, the area was settled by fur traders and fishermen (mostly European and Japanese), who were lured by the promises of gold, abundant fishing, and rich forest resources. In early 1990s, Ucluelet had a lighthouse, a government telegraph office, a lifeboat station, and was accessible from Victoria by a freight boat. With World War II, the military established a seaplane base in Ucluelet, and a road connecting Ucluelet and Tofino was built.

In 2006, the direct population of Ucluelet was estimated at 1,487 (BC Stats, 2007). The surrounding region, also serviced by Ucluelet, totaled about 3,000 additional residents (District of Ucluelet, 2005). Residents of Ucluelet are mostly Caucasian, with Aboriginal and Chinese being the two largest minorities (District of Ucluelet, 2005; Statistics Canada, 2002). In 2006, there were 640 private households in Ucluelet, majority of them being families with children. The median family income was CAD48,359 (BC Stats, 2001). The majority of Ucluelet residents fall within the age category of 25 to 44, with the median age being 36.4 years. Over one-third of the residents reported no religious affiliation, followed by one-third of those who reported Protestant as their religion (District of Ucluelet, 2005). There is one elementary school and one secondary school in Ucluelet, with the latter servicing the entire West Coast area, including Tofino. Besides the two schools, there is the North Island College offering first and second year university, literacy, and vocational courses. The unemployment rate for Ucluelet was 9.7% in 2001 (BC Stats, 2001).

Historically, Ucluelet has been a resource-based village dependant on forestry and fishing. Today its economy is shifting to include other value added and service industries such as tourism, real estate, retail, construction and development, and fish processing.

Over the past couple of years, a number of businesses in Ucluelet have increased from 25 (in 2001) to 72 (in 2004); in total, there were 321 businesses registered within the District of Ucluelet in 2005. Service industries (accommodation, food services and retail trade), resource-based industries (to include fish processing and logging), and construction were the main employers of the local residents (BC Stats, 2001).

Over the past 50 years, the District of Ucluelet has undergone major economic and social changes. In the late 1960s – early 1970s, this former conservative working community with heavy emphasis on resource extraction had the highest per capita income in Canada. With the global economy changing, competing markets putting pressure on the logging industry, and fishing resource depleting, both major industries witnessed a huge decline in demand. The growth of the environmental movement, along with the shift to more sustainable harvesting practices resulted in establishing the Sustainable Development Task Force for the Clayoquot Sound Area in 1989 in order to decide which areas should be logged and which should be protected. As logging continued, environment and tourism representatives demonstratively left the Task Force, and the new Task Force was formed in 1991. In 1993, the Government of British Columbia announced its Clayoquot Sound land use decision – to allow most of the area’s forest (over 70%) to be clearcut, and created a Scientific Panel to explore and recommend how the logging should proceed (Western Canada Wilderness Committee, 1996). While environmentalists were calling for “ecoforestry” (single-tree selection logging), the logging companies promised to improve their forestry practices, yet continued their business. This antagonism culminated with a huge environmental storm in 1993 at the Kennedy River Bridge outside Ucluelet, putting the small community into the national

and international spotlight. More than 12,000 people poured into the region that year to establish the largest blockade in Canadian history; close to a thousand protestors were arrested as they tried to stop MacMillan Bloedel Ltd. from logging the old-growth forest (Eggertson, 2007). The so called “War in the Woods” continued for several months, and the results of those protests are still lingering today. At the end of the day, the logging practices were forever changed, logging companies were leaving the area, and the community of Ucluelet was experiencing a massive exodus of its residents, searching for employment opportunities elsewhere. Finally, in 2000 the Clayoquot Sound UNESCO Biosphere Reserve was established “to provide funding and logistical support for research, education and training initiatives that promote conservation and sustainable development” in order to become a model of ecosystem-based management and sustainable development (Clayoquot Biosphere Trust, n.d.).

A stagnant economy pushed the town to adopt a “development at any cost” mentality, yet the development was not there. Major financial institutions placed Ucluelet in a “high risk” category and refused to open branches in the area; with its major employers laying off workers, and the population decreasing, the District of Ucluelet found itself with a decreasing tax base, struggling to find resources needed for infrastructure or community projects. In search for a potential tax base source, it turned its head to the rainforest area of 800 acres within the District boundaries, owned at that time by MacMillan Bloedel Ltd. (company later bought by Weyerhaeuser) under the Tree Farm License TFL44 (license to harvest the forest). To many, having the forest designated for logging, in the area near the Clayoquot Biosphere Reserve, did not make sense. In addition, removing the TFL44 status would enable the District of Ucluelet to

raise its tax base, so the decision was made to lobby the Government of British Columbia to release MacMillan Bloedel Ltd. lands from the forest land reserve. In 2004, after lengthy negotiations, the TFL44 was removed and Weyerhaeuser lands were released. The decision had to be made as to what would be the best use of those lands, and that decision had to be incorporated in District zoning bylaw, as a part of the Official Community Plan. The timing could not have been better – the District of Ucluelet was just preparing to review its Official Community Plan.

While the District of Ucluelet was quietly watching its logging and fishing jobs disappear, its northern neighbor Tofino was beginning to embark on the bandwagon of tourism and what might be called “the economy of protest” (Hanna, 2005). The two rivals – a blue collar working community, and the “artsy,” upscale community of environmental activists, were also deeply divided in their vision of planning for future development. As Tofino was making headway in rebuilding its economy around tourism, Ucluelet was observing its neighbor’s mistakes and pitfalls, pondering upon the opportunities to utilize its natural resources as a tourism attraction. One lesson Ucluelet learned from Tofino (and learned well), was the critical need to plan for its development. Watching tourism go awry in Tofino, Ucluelet decided it did not want to experience uncontrolled growth, but was rather determined to set the boundaries for its development in the Official Community Plan. With this in mind, it initiated the OCP process in 1998 (reviewed in 2003-2004).

The Process: Official Community Planning and Rezoning of Weyerhaeuser Lands

Chapter 323, Part 26 (“Planning and Land Use Management”) of the Local Government Act of British Columbia defines an Official Community Plan (OCP) as a “statement of objectives and policies to guide decisions on planning and land use management, within the area covered by the plan, respecting the purposes of local government” (Government of British Columbia, 1996). It requires an OCP to include statements and map designations for the area covered by the plan respecting the areas’ residential development, commercial, industrial, institutional, agricultural, recreational and public utility land uses, location and type of public facilities, etc. Zoning, land use designations, and infrastructure plans however are only declared in the OCP, but practically implemented through ancillary documents (Hanna, 2005). Most communities review their Official Community Plans every 5 years, even though the time horizon of a plan is typically 10 to 20 years. According to the Local Government Act, an OCP (revision) process must include extensive public consultation, but its form and methods are not specified.

Ucluelet completed its OCP in 1998, knowing that the economy was turning around, tourism was picking up, and the town would see more vibrant economic activity. The process largely resembled a visioning process, with community gathering together to discuss what they wanted, what they were looking for. The Town Council appointed an OCP Steering Committee from a broad spectrum of community representatives and industry stakeholders, and the public input was gathered through a series of open houses (public hearings). The final Official Community Plan introduced a series of important policy changes including affordable housing policy and staff housing policy, and served

as a turning point that brought confidence to developers and encouraged all kinds of new development in the town. The same year the Tauca Lea resort was built, to be followed shortly by the Reef Point development in 1999. These first developments took Ucluelet out of the “high risk” scenario, and put it into more of an enviable position for getting development financing. With more interest in Ucluelet, the town started to see economic activity and began to climb the steep ladder of land and property prices.

Even though things in Ucluelet were changing rapidly, the community felt comfortable with the changes, yet the District of Ucluelet was realizing that the previous OCP had to be amended as it did not have practical policies or environmental guidelines in place to offer protection for the community. The new OCP needed “smart growth” policies in place to give Ucluelet leverage over rezoning or development issues, so that the town wouldn’t lose control of what was going to happen to it. In addition, it had to incorporate the issue of affordability (unlike Tofino that was becoming unaffordable in terms of land prices and taxes) alongside other “hot topics” such as public access to the waterfront through the Wild Pacific Trail, parks and green spaces, alternative design and LEED standards, staff housing, affordable housing, density bonusing, vacation rentals, riparian and setback regulations, wildlife management, revitalization of the downtown commercial area, and others.

With this in mind, in 2003 the District of Ucluelet appointed another OCP Steering Committee and initiated review of its OCP. In collaboration with the faculty and students from the Malaspina University-College (based in Nanaimo, British Columbia), it organized a lengthy and intense public process to gather community input on the future of Ucluelet (Morford, Robinson, Mazzoni, Corbett & Schaiberger, 2004; Bergen, 2007).

The community responded, partly because everybody felt that the future was going to directly affect their “backyards.” To further stir existing controversies, it became public knowledge that Weyerhaeuser lands were released from the forest land reserve, suddenly opening a huge land mass – more than the size of the town – for development, and that Weyerhaeuser was going to sell the lands to a developer from Victoria – a group called Amadon. It was not known what was going to happen to Weyerhaeuser lands, yet people wanted to see them used for multiple purposes including single- and multi-family residential areas, affordable housing, parks, trails, and community amenities. So the Weyerhaeuser issue was included in the discussion, and through the 2004 OCP the lands were designated as “comprehensive development” allowing for a number of different types of uses the community wanted. The holding zone on the lands also meant that a future developer would have to apply for a rezoning, and so there would be another public process.

That process followed shortly. Amadon applied for rezoning, and with minimal public input put forward a mixed-use plan for development of 620 acres of rainforest lands. Even though the plan met few of the OCP policies and raised quite an opposition in the community, the developer insisted on proceeding with high end tourism projects, only to be unanimously rejected by the Town Council (5-0). The small town took a risk of turning down a large development project to protect its future.

The Amadon process had two major outcomes: it left a bitter attitude of suspicion towards any future developer that would come along in Ucluelet, and it also sent a clear message to developers that the community was not going to give in to “development at any cost.” It also changed the way things were developing for Ucluelet. Weyerhaeuser,

instead of selling the lands to another developer, announced its decision to develop the lands itself, and having learnt from Amadon's mistakes, initiated a lengthy and intense process of public consultation. The community responded – it was the avenue to provide input and ensure that their voice was heard. After a series of public workshops, coffee house meetings, picnics, and community events, the final plan for Weyerhaeuser lands was approved by the Town Council. The zoning not only adhered to the policies set forth in the OCP, but also reflected a mixed use the community had hoped for. “Hot topics” of staff housing and affordable housing, density bonusing, vacation rentals, riparian and setback regulations, green spaces, wildlife management and development cost charges, among others, were also addressed. Weyerhaeuser agreed to ensure public access to the waterfront by constructing a part of the Wild Pacific Trail, and donated over CAD2,000,000 for community amenities, setting the standard for future developers.

Following the Weyerhaeuser process, Ucluelet underwent another rezoning process with another developer, and is currently reviewing its OCP for the second time. Its fresh, creative and innovative approach to planning and development, specifically its Official Community Plan and Weyerhaeuser Development Agreement were both recognized by a number of awards including the Sustainable Community Planning Award by the Federation of Canadian Municipalities, Transport Canada, and CH2M Canada Ltd. for the “walk the talk” OCP, an Award of Excellence in the “Comprehensive & Policy Plans Division” by the Planning Institute of British Columbia for Weyerhaeuser Lands rezoning plan, a Community Excellence Award for Leadership and Innovation by the District Council Union of British Columbia Municipalities for Ucluelet's policies, and several awards from the United Nations endorsed International Awards for Liveable

Communities including a Gold Award for the OCP, a Silver Award for “Most Liveable Community” under population of 20,000, and the overall award for Community Sustainability. A decade after the Clayoquot Sound protests, the small town suddenly found itself in the national and international spotlight again, this time as an example of a community on the leading edge of environmental and policy innovations.

Key Players

- The District of Ucluelet – is directed by a Town Manager, appointed by the Town Council consisting of a Mayor and four councilors (re-elected every three years). The District has a planning office but does not have a planning commission,
- Amadon Group – real estate development group specializing in the development of resort/ residential planned communities and the rehabilitation of upscale mixed-use infill projects. Company is headquartered in Vancouver, British Columbia, and has associated offices in Central Europe and Australia,
- Weyerhaeuser – the world's largest producer of softwood lumber and market pulp, and the second largest manufacturer of oriented strand board; purchased MacMillan Bloedel Ltd. of Canada (one of Canada's largest forest products companies with integrated operations in Canada, the United States and Mexico, headquartered in Vancouver, British Columbia) in 1999. Company is headquartered in Seattle, Washington,
- Marine Drive Properties Ltd. – owns several properties in Ucluelet including Tauca Lea Resort and Spa, Big Beach Estates, Sunset Point Lots, Rainforest Estate Lots and others; recently purchased a parcel of former forestry lands from

Weyerhaeuser for the construction of the 350-acre signature design Wyndansea Oceanfront Golf Resort,

- Ucluelet Community Development Task Force – an ad hoc volunteer group, created in response to the increase in development in Ucluelet,
- Ucluelet Wild Pacific Trail Society – a registered non-profit organization in charge of maintenance and interpretation of the Wild Pacific Trail - a seven phase trail system skirting the cliffs and shoreline of the west coast of the Ucluth Peninsula, and
- Community of the District of Ucluelet – including volunteer groups and community activists.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data collection in Ucluelet included review of planning documents in summer and fall of 2007, followed by a number of phone interviews over the same period of time. In addition, a series of formal and informal interviews were conducted with a broad range of community members during the site visit to the community in November 2007. Initial contacts were established through the Malaspina University-College and the planning department of the District of Ucluelet. In total, twenty six individuals were interviewed (this excludes a number of informal interviews), half of them – more than one time, with interviews lasting from half an hour to several hours. Most of the interviews were recorded (later transcribed) and documented with extensive and detailed notes; post-interview and observational notes were taken following a number of informal

conversations about the project. Several potential interviewees refused to be contacted; after several attempts, one of them agreed to be interviewed.

Most of the conversations were initiated by asking questions focusing broadly on the nature of changes in the community, social and economic context of the process, participants' background and role/ participation in the process, as well as their perceptions, attitudes and beliefs. Although an interview guide was used, conversations were free-flowing and open ended. The interviews took place in locations selected by the participants, usually in their homes and workplaces. Study participants represented diverse and at times conflicting interests. They were elected officials, business owners, developers and real estate agents, environmental and advocacy group members, community volunteers, as well as citizens – all of them had first-hand experience in development of the Official Community Plan and Ucluelet/ Weyerhaeuser Comprehensive Development Plan.

The following section will address patterns that emerged throughout the interview process. Themes brought up by the respondents ranged from the voices of the community, a multitude of worldviews, community leadership, too much growth too fast, and public access to the waterfront, to tourism impacts and other community changes, and community fabric and social capital. Each of these themes is further discussed below.

Theme 1: The Voices of the Community

One of the most visible elements throughout the Official Community Planning and Ucluelet/ Weyerhaeuser Comprehensive Development Planning processes was of a grass-roots approach. Starting with the first OCP process in 1998, through the OCP

review in 2003-2004, and the rezoning of Weyerhaeuser lands in 2005, empowering residents not only ensured community buy-in and created a sense of public ownership, but also cultivated a rich soil for engaging a broad range of voices who felt that they were heard. All of the respondents unanimously agreed that despite a lack of consensus on decisions that were made, these planning processes were comprehensive and “certainly public,” with a large number of open forums held to discuss the future of Ucluelet. At the same time, the thoroughness of these processes did not ensure 100% community support. Speaking about the OCP review process, Lance pointed out,

As textbook planning goes, the process has been pretty open and public and transparent... Now, the decisions that were made... Not everyone agrees with them, but that’s our society, that’s the way it is... I think the process is still valid, but decisions that were made are contested by a large number of people... [You know,] anyone who doesn’t like the decisions is going to complain about the process... but I don’t see how the process could have been more open or transparent... In our society, if you don’t like the decision, then you campaign and elect people who will make decisions that you do like...

Similar thoughts were expressed about the later Weyerhaeuser rezoning process. In Sean’s words,

I think the public had full opportunity all the way along, I don’t think anybody can say that they didn’t have input... They might say they weren’t listened to, because they didn’t see their agendas translated into the final product... But no, it was a good, open, lengthy process...

Both Lance and Sean reinforced what was apparent from the beginning – uniqueness of the planning processes in Ucluelet was determined not only by a small community feel/scale, but also by “focus on the process, not only product” (Joseph). From day one, Ucluelet utilized principles of solid sustainable planning in order to “tap into” the community and ensure that not only the most vocal would get involved, but also the “average Joes” (Christina). As Susan noted,

We focused on three E's of the solid sustainable planning, including social equity, environment, and economy, versus focusing on [development] money only...

Mark referred to this style of planning as the “boiler plate style of planning” – what he called “fitting [development] in, rather than driving it.” This meant spreading the word out and educating community about the plans, then gathering comments and building District policies around them. The challenge was not to lose touch with the public, and allow the community to “take control over their destiny” (Robert). As one of the respondents remarked, “when you lose touch with community, you lose focus...” With this in mind, the District of Ucluelet embarked on what turned out to be a lengthy and intense public process that took a lot of effort from the District, its planner, community, and developers. At times the process was wearing people out, and for a small community in change it was challenging and demanding, but as Brandon explained,

Change will come... [and] we should try to control it to a certain degree, and not have change lead us, but have us lead a change...

Recognition of this change, as well as the fear of going the route of Tofino, only further pushed the community to come together and collectively establish boundaries for the future development, or as Sara called it, “get on top of the change to monitor and maintain the development.” Comparison with Tofino was inevitable – they were only a few miles down the road, and the impacts of their rampant development were at times scary. Ucluelet had an advantage of learning from their mistakes, as well as having a “natural” and “cohesive” community. Quoting Brandon,

I found in the past that the community down here seems to work as a natural community as compared to our neighbors down the road... Things can be very fracturous in Tofino, they have a bunch of special interest groups, and nothing seems to get done... Down here we are more cohesive and have a better Council that is very proactive and listens to the people...

This community cohesiveness meant that neighbors talked to each other about the issues Ucluelet was facing, shared their ideas, and were not intimidated to speak to their Council or express their opinions during community open houses. Furthermore, there were a number of avenues allowing them to speak up, ranging from notice boards in grocery stores and coffee house meetings, to family picnics, local festivals and events, as well as traditional open houses. Many of these events were facilitated by the students from Malaspina University-College who were viewed as a “neutral” third party, hence had community trust and support. Michael remarked,

The OCP process was really good... They involved University students from Malaspina and had a lot of input from public meetings [where] people were throwing ideas out... And they were young kids with a lot of energy; they were encouraging people to come to these meetings and share a vision of what they wanted their community to be... I think that was a key point when you started getting there and hearing things...

Collaboration with Malaspina created a “win-win” situation for both the University and the town. Having young and enthusiastic students facilitate the process served as another strong link between the community and the District. It also opened a myriad of opportunities to gather as much public input as possible. David recalled,

[We had] coffee meetings, room meetings, open houses... Those who didn’t want to come, we would meet with them one-on-one, trying to address everyone’s needs and make people comfortable... We had various opportunities for people to say what they wanted to see in their community...

In Jared’s words,

We actually had a couple of students come and sit in a coffee shop for 2 days and invite people to come in... And [it was done] in a couple of other places, just to make it so that [people] didn’t [always] have to come down to the District Office... That kind of outreach is beyond what’s required... [There were] also a couple of evenings when people could come if they were interested, to learn more details...

During the OCP review process of 2003-2004, students from Malaspina also assisted the OCP Steering Committee that was put together by a Town Council from a broad spectrum of community representatives, in order to oversee the process. Kara explained,

[During the 2003 process] there was a Steering Committee again, and [it] didn't meet as often... The municipality hired a couple of students to help them from Malaspina, and they did surveys around the community, they had a questionnaire that they put together, they had public picnics at the beach, they went to coffee shops, they went around the community had people fill those in... Then they amalgamated all the information into a report and brought it to the Steering Committee... The Steering Committee didn't have as much input into that second process...

One of the Steering Committee members commented,

Sometimes they asked for our input, but it was a community based process, led by a planning department, which made it a little bit unique... The input we got was strictly public input, and everything was on open house basis, it was nothing in camera, nothing closed... So the public was a part of it... They were the ones who contributed 90% of it, along with a little direction from a planning department, who would advise them on what would work and what wouldn't work...

Even though the OCP Steering Committee members were appointed by the Town Council, there was a deliberate attempt to include a broad range of stakeholders.

Kara,

There were students from the high school, there were nurses, educators, retailers, hoteliers, logging industry representatives, fishing industry representatives... They really tried to include somebody from every sector that would be affected in the community, and get a broad range of what the community was looking for...

The second OCP Steering Committee, appointed in 2003, was somewhat different. As one of the respondents pointed out,

There were more people on the Committee... It was more open to who could be on it, and there were [in my opinion] more people on it that I refer to as 'CAVEs' – Citizens Against Virtually Everything... I call them a 'Group of 12' – there are about 12 of them... And then they formed another group, called the Ucluelet Community Development Task Force...

Attracting a broad range of players brought a multitude of voices into the OCP Steering Committee. Having Malaspina students facilitate public events, on the other hand, created a welcoming and inviting atmosphere for the residents to express their concerns. The response was overwhelming. Elizabeth explained it this way,

In every community [you have] the same people who wear a whole bunch of hats, they are very involved in the community, they are in every function... those people were right in there... And there are a few backbenchers, who say things to their friends, but don't want to get up and say it in front of an assembly... Those people were [also] getting up and speaking... So it was a really good process...

While the community responded and got involved in the process, this did not mean the uniformity/ homogeneity of views. On the contrary, there were “attached residents” who did not want to see their community change, and there were pro-growth Ucluetians who envisioned their community as more urban. The challenge was to get the “average Joes” out to join in the discussion. Sean shared,

The interesting part though is that it's always the same core group of individuals... Those who don't want to get involved and do nothing, you never see them, unless something happens in their backyard... but if you get tired of doing something and expect somebody to pick up the slack, it doesn't happen... People get burned down, because there's so much load and yeah, you have that core group of individuals who keep it moving and do it... but you lose them, and stuff goes down...

To gather comments from the “silent majority,” the District of Ucluelet initiated a number of one-on-one meetings, put out comment cards, and used other tools that kept the process transparent, and the community informed. All of the respondents agreed that the process was transparent and there were no “secret deals” or decisions made “without proper public consultation” (Lance). There were flyers, TV ads, website and email

communication, and the public was ensured access to all minutes and recordings either in hard copy or online. Quoting Justin,

Oh, yeah... They ran ads in the newspaper, put a mailbox flyer through every house, they even had it on the local information channel on the TV... Oh yeah, it was open to all...

Brandon further explained,

Yeah, it was in the paper... If you didn't read the paper, if you didn't go to the post office or CO-OP where things were on notice boards, if you basically lived under a rock, then you wouldn't know... But if you had a concern and wanted to participate, yes it was open, you could join the process at any time, you didn't have to be there from point one... [The process] was definitely open to the public, it was advertised, there were banners on the streets, there was advertising on the TV and in the paper... And if you hadn't participated in the OCP process, and you came to the final presentation, you could still put your sticky note in and could still comment on the map... You could put your two cents in...

Transparency of the process was almost guaranteed taking into consideration the size of the town. As Michael noted,

It's a small town, it's not a huge city, and there's a lot of coffee shops and a lot of people spend time together... So the people know what is going on most of the time... Yes, it's a small community, and we have a local newspaper... if you want to know, you know; if you don't want to know, nobody is gonna make you know...

The role of the local newspaper was however questioned. Some argued it informed the community about the process, while others believed it often reported information touted as facts, not really based on facts. Jared expressed his opinion in the following way,

The newspaper here is not doing as good a job... 30 years back newspapers were more confrontational... It's a Canadian thing – [they are] too polite, everybody is afraid of saying things... We are so polite we are afraid we might offend somebody, in my way of thinking its sad...

The multitude of worldviews in Ucluelet made all the above mentioned processes unique. It also emerged as one of important themes the study participants brought up. Before

examining this issue further, two other processes should be reviewed, namely the Amadon planning process and rezoning of Weyerhaeuser lands in 2005.

One might argue that the strength of the voices in Ucluelet was not so much amplified by the OCP processes as it was directly affected by the Amadon planning process in 2004. The development group was under a contract with Weyerhaeuser who owned the land, to design a plan for 620 acres of the forest adjacent to Ucluelet. The process lasted several months, and did not involve extensive public consultation with the community. Mark thought that as a large company, Amadon Group expected “red carpet treatment” in Ucluelet; all other interviewees pointed out that the group acted arrogant and was proposing high-end tourism development that did not take into consideration the fabric of the community. As Thomas pointed out, they were setting up an “them” versus “us,” and the community didn’t like it,

[They were] positioning it as ‘Oh, this is a high end community; we would have nothing to do with you, guys...’ [They] didn’t quite say it, but [they] almost said it... [They were] setting up an ‘us’ and ‘them,’ and [they] said really, really silly things...

Justin explained the community feeling about Amadon as the following,

All of a sudden we had this group from Victoria (Amadon) coming in... And they talked a lot of nonsense, they basically said, ‘Tell us what you want, and we’ll give it to you’... Their planning was really poor... and that really opened the eyes for a lot of people going, ‘Holy smokes, all of a sudden we’ve got hundreds of acres of land, and these guys want to do what with it?’...

Amadon’s arrogance and attitude served two important lessons – they cautioned the community against other potential developers, and also drew the community together to act as one. Everyone agreed the developer was not listening to the public, and so when

the final plan went to the Council in 2005, Amadon was unanimously voted down in a public hearing. Kyle recalled,

Fortunately, the Amadon guys were pretty arrogant... They thought they were dealing with 'country pumpkins' and were going to save the town... They thought we would roll over and say, 'Fine'... They pissed people off a bit...

Years later, emotions and frustrations with the Amadon process still remain. Kyle was the most expressive about his feelings,

They weren't really community oriented, and they came with some great wacko scheme to put together a wellness spa, a hotel, and a whole bunch of auxiliary stuff... That was what galvanized the community... It was like, 'Holy ***, things are happening, and we better start paying attention'... Quite a large chunk of the community did go to the open houses, did express their opinions... Ultimately, their proposal was rejected unanimously by council at the final public hearing... That woke the community up... [And] that's when the entire community got involved... At that point it was obvious that what happened with that land would have a huge impact on the future of the entire community forever...

Returning to the comment made earlier in this section in regard to the importance of the process as well as the product, the example of Amadon is perhaps the most illustrative in this sense. Speaking about the Amadon plan itself, Thomas pointed out,

The plan itself wasn't bad... If you took the equivalent to his plan and [Weyerhaeuser plan], you would say, 'Oh, that's very similar,' which it is... I mean, there are only so many things you can do – you can have some hotels, some tourist-related housing, some locals-related housing, you can have some retail, and it's the matter of how you mix it up...

In other words, it was not the plan itself that Ucluetians were not happy with, but the developer, his attitude, and the process. A combination of the three caused Amadon to suffer an excruciating fiasco and forced the company to leave the town. Meanwhile, Weyerhaeuser announced they were going to develop the land themselves, and Ucluelet was facing another intense process within a short period of time.

Watching the community come together to oppose the unwanted developer, Weyerhaeuser decided to go “the extra mile,” hired local developers and planners to facilitate workshops, Malaspina students to solicit public comments, brought in scientists and environmental consultants, and organized a number of public open houses to gather community input. The first organized workshop attracted about 25 people who were split in groups and had to create their own plans for the forest lands; those plans were reviewed by the planners and consultants, and combined into three alternatives – from “heavy tourist” development, to “no development,” with the “mixed use” in between. Those plans were then brought to an open house for further discussion; at the end the mixed use plan was chosen by most of the people. As one of the respondents explained,

[There was another] open house – to say, ‘Okay, this is what you told us... Here are some principles we had been following, and these are the options. Let’s discuss what you like and what you don’t like about these options’... After that the plan was refined, there was another open house, and more feedback... And all the way through [they were] keeping tabs of, ‘this is what you said, and this is how we did or didn’t do it, and why’... because there were a lot of ideas...

Among the most controversial issues discussed throughout the process were public access to the waterfront through the Wild Pacific Trail, environmental concerns about the wildlife, retaining commercial area downtown, and agreeing upon amenity and land gifts to the community. Brandon recalled,

Those plans [that were] put together went back to the landscape architect, got finalized, came back to the community... The group was able then to actually see a larger format, and then they were given the option of voting and recommending... They would write comments on the map and those were taken back to be augmented and changed... This went through a couple of review processes before the final draft, which is not in stone, of course... And the community came up with the basic plan of what you see today – protection of the waterfront, trail network, retaining the downtown commercial core... We didn’t want strip mall mentality you have in other towns... A lot of good suggestions

came out of it... I felt it was quite a transparent process... If you attended all the meetings, you knew what was happening...

Community was split in their visions of the future development. Often times, public hearings were 50% x 50% of people speaking for and against the development. As Kyle explained,

Those people who would gain from tourism commercial development thought it was wonderful... The real estate people were big spokesmen for the whole development and rezoning... Most people in town were in favor of getting it out of the tree farm license, so that the town could do something about it... but the big question people in town were divided on was what we were going to do with it... That's the flaw of the development process – you can only react to what whoever owns the land brings forward... It wasn't a question of where are we going to put the school, the community center... The developer said, 'This is what we are going to do with this land,' and the community reacted to that... The process was initiated and driven by the developer... But the community was savvy enough to demand certain concessions, such as green space, development cost charges, so that the community gets something back from what the developer...

Even though opinions varied, everyone was given a chance to speak up. As Justin noted,

I think the information was adequate, and the meetings were open, and there was a lot of good discussion... It wasn't just real estate developers pushing their point of view, and it wasn't a 'head in sand' people who didn't want any development either who were getting all the speaking opportunities... It was a cross mix, and a good exercise...

Even today, one could notice a broad range of opinions about the intentions of Weyerhaeuser during that process. Some argued they were pursuing their "bottom line" of making a profit, while others saw their actions as respectful of the community.

Mark,

They were very successful in finding out what the community wanted on those lands... They wanted to leave a positive legacy in Ucluelet, and they did a real good job in putting in single family, multi family, condos, affordable housing, hotels, residential... a myriad of different uses...

Following the Weyerhaeuser process, things in Ucluelet quieted down. Perhaps the only other rezoning process that stirred much controversy in town was the one of rezoning the lands of Marine Drive Properties a few years following the rezoning of Weyerhaeuser lands. At the end of 2007, when the interviews were conducted, Ucluelet was preparing for another full-blown review of its OCP. This time, the most controversial issues that attracted community attention were vacation rentals, parking, and once again, public access to the waterfront in the form of the Wild Pacific Trail. Some of these issues will be discussed later on in this chapter.

While ensuring an open, inclusive, and transparent public process, the District of Ucluelet and Weyerhaeuser faced a challenge of balancing a multitude of community worldviews. As participants in the process often times had a certain degree of power to influence its outcomes, a theme of “who participates” ran through all of the interviews.

Theme 2: A Multitude of Worldviews

Both the OCP and the rezoning of Weyerhaeuser lands fell into the category of those processes directly affecting everyone in the community. This, in its turn, stirred community interest and ensured broad public participation. As Sean pointed out,

The smaller the town, the more in touch and a greater percentage of the population gets involved, especially when there's a 'hot topic'...

In a similar manner, Jared noted that it was “difficult getting the average Joe out, but that goes to society...” He further explained his opinion by saying that, “the average person is not really too interested... unless it's in their backyard...”

In this respect, both processes appeared to meddle in too many backyards, and hence galvanized a large part of the community to get involved. As Brandon recalled,

There was ‘pro-development’ in respect that there were quite a few members of the real estate industry who would have vested interest in development; there were quite a few members who would be ‘green,’ and there was also a certain component of people who didn’t want any change at all and wanted things to stay the same...

Lucas thought most of those who participated in community planning were busy people,

I don’t think that’s unique to our community... Busy people are your core of volunteers, and the people who actually do things... They seem to find time...

Christina called the most active participants in the process as “people who cared,” and

Lindsay thought of them as “people who have something to say,”

My observation is that people that are happy with the way things are going, they don’t participate so much... they are fine with it, and they know enough about it, so they are comfortable... There [also] is a certain segment in any community that doesn’t participate, but what you have to do is try to make sure that the information is out there as much as possible...

Michael argued the most vigorous participants were older,

This was a resource community with a lot of older people, who were the ones who put the time into the public meetings as they were scared of change...

But the change was inevitable, and development was needed in order to revitalize the local economy and increase the tax base, so the challenge was to take that development under control. This is where community worldviews split into those advocating development at any cost, and those who did not want any development at all. Both groups firmly stood on their ground and supported their views with solid and reasonable arguments. On one side, there were individuals like Sean who argued that,

People who are against development... they don’t understand that this is private land, [and] it’s is going to happen... It wasn’t a question of ‘If,’ but a question of ‘When’... They are having a hard time accepting that and will probably never get over it... If it was a Crown land, it would be a different story, but it’s private, so it’s going to be developed...

The case of the private land was brought in a number of times. According to Jared,

One of the main principles of owning land in Canada is that you have a right to be able to do something with it, and [this right] cannot be taken away from you... What the [OCP] does... it sets basic rules for how we see our community, and if you can make your application fit in the right place, we cannot deny it, and if we do, we end up in a court of law... People who don't want anything to happen, can't understand that...

On the other hand, even the issue of land was disputable. While some argued that the developers have the right to develop their property in the way they want, as long as they follow the policies set forth in the OCP, others viewed this as the “Wild West” attitude.

As one of the respondents said,

A lot of this land is private land, and in a sense there's still this 'Wild West' attitude, 'It's my land, I can do what I want'... and like Weyerhaeuser said, 'We are nice enough just to listen to you'... but they did take a lot of input from the District...

To disband the most pressing concerns, the District of Ucluelet brought the planning process out in the public. David thought this diffused “85% of the issues,” because everyone felt they could contribute. At the same time, diffusing public concerns did not bring about community-wide consensus. In David's words,

There are still probably 15-20% of the people who would love to see [the lands] untouched, and distrust developers – they think they ‘maximize their bottom line at our expense’... We [also] have some very keen people who are hiding behind trees, watching developers, looking for a mistake... who will then come and say, ‘See, told you so’... but that's human nature...

The opposition to development in Ucluelet played out in a variety of forms – from those who wanted to say “No” to any development, to supporters of development controls, to those concerned about environmental impacts. Those opposing any development appeared to be very vocal. As Mark explained,

There is a group in town that doesn't want anything to change, they never have, and they never will... they want Ucluelet to stay the same...

David characterized them as,

The last one in, close the door... Those who distrust developers, they think they will take the money and run away... [But] it's human nature, you are never going to satisfy everyone...

Jared had yet another opinion,

It's a 'hard line' [people] who have an agenda in life, [some of them] were involved on a steady basis... Talk about differences of opinions here... [They would say], 'We want no logging, we want no fishing, we want nothing'... But those people have money to live off... Now, that we have tourism, those same people don't want tourism... They see the same issue basically – you have to cut down trees to put hotels and roads... They have the same concerns... There's about 10-12 of them, small group, but very vocal...

Sean added to that,

They are mostly old time residents, generational stuff... They don't want [Ucluelet] to change... And I can appreciate that, but it's just not realistic... There's pressure being applied everywhere, land values are going through the roof everywhere... They just need a dose of reality, and a lot of times that's hard to come by, when you are emotionally invested one way or the other...

Elizabeth referred to them as the "old guard" that doesn't want any change, "people who have lived here for years and years, and have seen the changes good and not so good... and they have their point..." She further argued,

Even the businesses... some of them don't want any diversification or industry coming in, even any tourism coming in... they were loggers back then, and they want their town to be like it was 30 years ago... And you have to explain to them that no, it's not going to be like that, because it's progress and things change...

The sentiment of respecting views of those "on the other side" was present throughout most of the interviews. Despite having strong opinions, respondents seemed to appreciate differences of worldviews. First, there was Justin who argued that "what hurts them the most, is the way the town is changing, everything is strange to them... people who are born here just shake their heads..." In a similar manner, Michael remarked,

Sure there are [people who don't want any development]... What has happened, the prices of property have gone up, and taxes go up, and people are on fixed incomes, and all they want to do is to live in their houses, and they don't want to pay for all these amenities... That is a concern... Those people came here for jobs, they were loggers and fisherman... They had a small community and were happy with it... They don't want to see things changed... and you can understand that...

This spirit of understanding however did not indicate respondents' agreement with opposing views. In fact, some of them were quite adamant in their views. Special attention was directed towards the Ucluelet Community Development Taskforce. Its role in the community was contested, yet several study participants shared the following opinion,

[The Ucluelet Community Development Taskforce]... started active and proactive, but now turned to reactive... complaining about development and the environment... [They are] under 10 people now, and their anti-development [views] pushed the others away...

Another respondent referred to the group as "CAVES" – Citizens Against Virtually Everything,

They don't have anything better to do with their time... Retired, or aren't really in love with their work, they just need to have conflict in their lives... It's like they have to have conflict to feel right about themselves... Either they work certain hours and the rest of their lives are boring, so this is what they have chosen to focus on, or it's what they are doing... Some have a sole purpose of [their lives] to figure out what the District of Ucluelet is doing wrong... All they do are create difficulties... It's a mixture of people but it's a small group... small but noisy... [they have] attracted far too much attention...

Others referred to them as "agitators" who were "always going to be there," bringing negativity into the process,

The problem with them is that they are always talking about the negative... They should be looking for a light in a dark area... trying to look at the positives and negatives, trying to balance those off...

Among the other vocal interest groups were real estate agents, who had a “vested interest in the development process,” and the environmental groups, that “made it their agenda to be present during public hearings.” Some study participants believed that having the most right- or left-wing groups present at open houses at times distorted the true picture of how the community felt about the process. In Jared’s words,

One of the big downfalls of democracy is that a lot of people spend a lot of time working, so they listen to whoever is the loudest... They don’t have time to form their opinions... The rest of the people... They don’t come to meetings, they depend on the elected people to take care of them... The silent majority wasn’t there, they have no time or whatever...

Recognizing the downfall of traditional public participation methods, the District of Ucluelet set on implementing a series of new innovative steps to attract the otherwise “silent majority,”

It’s a kind of a problem... It is always the most vocal that come forward, and we have committees in town who are quite vocal on these types of things and they would put their points forward... And what we had done, we put a lot of [materials] up on the Internet for the people who don’t want to come out, to contribute... Some people won’t come out or won’t speak out in front of a crowd, but they will type up their thoughts online... and that’s something we as politicians recognize... We always hear the vocal minority, and being able to see it and dissect it...

While some thought this “silent majority” was not there because they were “quite happy with the process,” others had a more balanced prospective. As Lindsay explained,

Other people are not so much unhappy about [the development], but [they] want to make sure it’s done properly, that environmental concerns are monitored... They keep their eye [on the District] to make sure it monitors the environmental impacts...

Juggling this multitude of worldviews was indeed a challenge for Ucluelet, as was getting the “silent majority” to speak up. Not relying on traditional public input procedures only, the District of Ucluelet set the goal to go “above and beyond” conventional public

engagement methods, and succeeded in developing a range of creative and innovative approaches to “tap into” the community. Most of the respondents attributed this to community leadership, especially a proactive planning department, and responsive Town Council. The theme of community leadership was brought up by quite a few study participants; it is further discussed in the section that follows.

Theme 3: Community Leadership

The “movers and shakers” in Ucluelet represented different groups and interests – they were the District planner, the Town Council, and, to a certain extent, the developer (Weyerhaeuser). Even though their roles varied, the group was able to work together without major conflicts; results of their work were clearly acknowledged and recognized by the broader community. First of all, there was a District planner who without a doubt had the respect of all parties for his work. As Sara shared,

I commend him left, right, and center... He has got a really tough job working with his personal value system where he would want to see things go [a certain] way, but he also has to look for the money that’s coming into our budget... That’s a difficult balance for him to find... By pushing your personal values out there – LEED program, ‘smart growth,’ and others – you are bringing a knowledge basis to the citizens, and the message you are sending out... makes them comfortable... It is important [to have] a vision and the ability to get other people on board... also getting people to understand the vision, getting into their personal value systems...

Lucas went even further, to directly relate the public focus of the town with the efforts of the District planner,

Over the last 5 years we’ve become a rather unique community... Before that we blended in with everybody else, we did what everybody else did, but with the young blood and an aggressive planning department and the Council we’ve become different, and we are proud of that...

The District planner was also recognized for his passion, knowledge, and care for the community. In Elizabeth's words,

[He is] one of the best planners I've ever met... very passionate about what he does, he knows the community and doesn't want to make it sloppy, but progressive... He researches and knows how to use the leverage... The process was a lot easier because he was there able to give guidance...

Putting that knowledge into practice was indeed a challenge, but the results spoke for themselves. As Michael remarked,

When the developers start flocking around, you start realizing they are here for something, and you realize what it is, and you start setting up parameters of how you want this vision to go... We have an OCP, and we have the right people, too... like [the planner] who was willing to put the time and the effort... It takes a tremendous amount of effort from key people to see the vision through... Anybody can come up with the ideas, but to have the vision followed through takes a lot of time and a lot of effort from the dedicated people...

Other respondents recognized the planner's ability to both listen to the community and work with the developers, trying to find the best case scenario for all parties involved.

The District planner's role in conjunction with other key individuals was viewed as one of the key elements to success of the planning processes. Sean argued,

What contributed to the success of the process... Key individuals, you betcha... With imaginations and convictions... You find people like that everywhere, who don't take 'No' for an answer, if it's a worthy project... people with strong convictions, standing up for what they want...

At the same time, it was apparent that it was not the planner alone who was regarded as one of the town's "champions." The Mayor and the 5 councilors were at the forefront of major changes the community has gone through. Sara described the Town Council as "green," "proactive," "futuristic," and "transformational,"

Our local government is very proactive, futuristic and advanced... If you can bring to light a model community, you've got a really good community to work

with... It's not [a community] where one person is dictating what is going to happen... This [town] has a very transformational leadership...

This was not always the case though. Back in times of economic decline, the Council was quite reserved about the new “smart growth,” sustainable and environmental policies that were viewed as those “scaring the developers away.” It took a certain amount of courage, and perhaps even risk, to require their first developer to conduct an Environmental Impact Assessment and implement some of the rather demanding policies within the OCP. As the developer agreed and the process progressed smoothly, the Council gained the courage to continue along the same lines, while pushing the boundary a little further every time. Over time, the reputation of the Council as being “anti-business” has changed. As one of the business owners recalled,

When I first came here I thought they were anti business, I thought, ‘Geez, here’s a small community, and they are putting all of these road blocks for businesses to get started’... But my views changed over time, because I realized that the area that we were in was quite spectacular and that the way the things were going... if one person was not going to step up to the plate to build a nice place, there were all these people behind them that would...

For a small Council working for little to no pay, such amount of effort was viewed as quite remarkable. Even though some of the councilors were viewed as “volunteer amateurs,” their work was acknowledged by the broader community,

Council [here] gets paid now, I think, it's 8,000 dollars a year, they go to 5 meetings a week for 3 years... It's a grueling job, and in most [other] places the councilors and people in general don't even know what they can do, what's possible... In that sense Ucluelet did a damn good job in mobilizing the population...

In a similar manner, Brandon remarked,

There's so much work involved, and very little restitution... A lot of the councilors we had at that time, they were community minded, nobody really had an agenda...

The councilors, on their side, not only recognized their part-time status, but also acknowledged the need to reach out to the broader community to find out what it is that their community wants,

In a small community we get more involvement because we have such a small staff so we really, really need the community to participate... And we pay attention to what the people are saying... The reality is that the Council cannot live on what we do here, so everybody has to have another full time position, so you really need community participation to help you... it's not like in a larger community where you hire them, and that's all those folks do... here, community participation is a key...

In addition to having a part-time nonpartisan Town Council, the small size of the community made those outreach efforts easier. As one of the councilors noted,

We are a small enough community, and people [here] aren't shy, they know you and they are more willing to speak to you than if you are hooked up to a political party... We all are members of [this] community, we all live here, we all work here... [and] except for a small remuneration, it is basically a volunteer position... That makes people more comfortable to come out and talk to us on the streets, on the phone...

As in any community, there also were skeptics, who did not see the work of the Council as reflective of community wants and needs,

Big part of the problem is that we all are working blind... Council doesn't think it is... it thinks it has its finger on the pulse of Ucluelet, but I don't believe it does...

The same skeptics argued Ucluelet had no "champions" or "visionaries" to pull the rest of the public "on board,"

It takes a champion, probably, somebody who is going to benefit from it, to do all the massive amount of legwork required, to bring a bunch of players on board... a visionary... And no one came forward... What has come forward is developers who see a market out here and the ability to create a market out here, and build out condominiums, tourist accommodations, and hotels... So that is been what's driving a development process in Ucluelet...

The theme of development reflected yet another major concern of the community.

Having undergone major social and economic changes in such a short period of time, many of the respondents wondered if it was necessarily a good thing for the town, and whether it was “too much growth, too fast.” They also brought up discussion of whether Ucluelet should pursue growth or development. Both themes are addressed in the section that follows.

Theme 4: Too Much Growth, Too Fast

Discussions around the rapid growth and development in Ucluelet should be placed in the broader political and economic context of the Province of British Columbia. As land owners (provinces own 92% of the land base in Canada), provinces in Canada have the resources and hence possess strong decision making power, as compared to the Federal Government. Municipal governments, in their turn, are “creatures” of the province, and their decision making authorities are rather limited. The Province of British Columbia is known as being “pro-business;” in fact, current provincial government started with the slogan that “BC is now open for business.” From the governmental prospective, this strategy has worked extremely well, as the Province has been economically very healthy. Disagreements have existed, however, in regard to the social and environmental well-being of the region. To illustrate this point, one of the study participants recalled,

I heard on the radio the other day that in the last five years there hasn’t been an environmental assessment that resulted in turning down a development in the whole province... It makes you wonder...

Upon looking at the rate and level of development in British Columbia (specifically at Vancouver Island), it is difficult to ignore the fact that until recently, Ucluelet has remained the only stretch of coastline left on the entire island with access to the ocean, that was available “for sale.” The District of Ucluelet knew that, residents knew that, and the developers knew that. As one of the interviewees noted,

It’s supply and demand, and this place here is the checklist for everything people want now... outside of the rain (being in the rain forest), [this place] has everything... there isn’t much supply here, but the demand is great...

Everyone in Ucluelet agreed that growth, development, and change were inevitable; the town was “poised for some kind of development.” Difficulties and conflicts arose when the discussion turned to what would be the proper type of development the community wanted to see. Kyle explained it this way,

You know, everybody agrees we need development, we need business, we need industry out here to help support people... and something that’s not seasonal as well... That’s the problem with tourism in a lot of places... Out here, we have nothing in the winter... It’s dead in the winter... As soon as the Labor Day hits, it tapers off very quickly, and everybody struggles in the winter... So you make your year through those four summer months... A lot of us were hoping for something that would alleviate that... So the idea of the school [University] came up over and over again...but it never really got off the ground, partly because no developer is going to build a school...

Community views on what would be the proper type of development diverged widely, and the discussions were heated. Elizabeth recalled,

There was a lot of heated discussion about development in general... We had people who wanted to leave the lands as they are – pretty much as close to nature as possible... [We also had] other people that could see the reality that one way or another it was going to be developed, so we better do it the way we want to, as opposed to letting somebody walk all over us...

In other words, it was not about the development per se, but about the “right” type of development. While the town needed to expand its tax base and improve its

infrastructure, it also realized that allowing “development at any cost” would lead the town the route of Tofino, and this was a lesson everyone was intimately familiar with. Being cautious about the policies to be incorporated into the OCP created a new image of the Town Council – being “pro-development,” yet picky about the type of development. The town was not scared about losing potential investors, recognizing that the demand was there, and the demand was high, so getting the “right development” was just a matter of time. Quoting Mark,

We allow development, but it’s the right kind of development... the one that abides by ‘smart growth’ policies, and uses all those things that we like using here in Ucluelet... Our Council is pro-development, but only pro-development for the right kind... They turned down as many [proposals] as they approved... They are not afraid of saying ‘No’ to anybody, and it’s different from [other] places that allow every kind of development, doesn’t matter what it is... I call those ‘the land of ‘Yes,’ because it doesn’t matter what you propose, they will allow you to do that...

Having lived in the community for many years, Sean observed the evolution that brought the Town Council to this point,

We went through an evolution here... It wasn’t that long ago that the town was begging and would have done anything to accommodate the developer... Back then, the District would sell its soul for a few bucks... tough times... And we completely evolved... We are getting these huge packages above and beyond the normal stuff, stuff that should happen...

At times it felt like the town was on a rollercoaster of development. As the speed of change was increasing, the community was undergoing a “cultural shock [from] this kind of high-end expansion in a blue-collar town...” (Lucas). This shock only further exacerbated the widespread fear for what might come. As Jared explained,

People were afraid of too many things changing too quickly... We have to look in the future and make sure that citizens who live here, whoever they are, have an opportunity to make a living here... [and] if [it’s not] logging, they have to come up with something else...

As with the other issues, the views on the rate of development diverged widely. When the time came to rezone Weyerhaeuser lands, tensions only intensified. While some argued that “the zoning [of the lands] doesn’t equal the development, it just sets the parameters under which development gets done,” and that development itself will take years to complete, others turned back to the OCP and pointed out its weakness in not addressing the rate of development,

A huge flaw in the OCP is that it doesn’t address the rate of development... In most places it’s not a problem because the development happens slowly, but in the case of Ucluelet, when the town is doubling its size... If you say that you can develop 10% of the land a year, the community would have a chance to learn from past developments...

Justin explained this in the following way,

Probably half of the people in Ucluelet... said to the Council, ‘We don’t want to see this pre-zoned for what it is’... they encouraged the Council to release one section at a time, and build it phase by phase... The biggest disappointment was that they got it all in one time... There were different arguments... [some said] it’s better to do it all at once, then you know what you are getting...

From the viewpoint of the District of Ucluelet, the most important aspect of the process was to ensure that developers, no matter who they are, would follow the guidelines set forth in the OCP. Speaking about Weyerhaeuser, one of the respondents remarked,

They are a large corporation, and they can be quite heavy handed, but by the same token the District of Ucluelet has shown its strength in dealing with developers in that we won’t take a backseat to anybody... It [either] fits in with the OCP, or you won’t do it... There were a couple [of other developers] who tried to take rough shots at us but left the town...

From the viewpoint of the residents of Ucluelet, there were several factors that shaped the process, on one side – the lack of previous experience with large scale developments, on

the other side – experimenting with the policies of the OCP. In regard to the former, Justin recalled,

I don't think [the developer] tried to hide anything from us... There were lots of opportunities for dialogue, they had a lot of maps and drawings, they brought in specialists in stream location, fish bearing, identified wildlife corridors... Yeah, in a lot of ways it was probably the naïveté of the people of the town itself... Like in the OCP review, we didn't have any experience with what was going to happen... And I think if they were to have that OCP review again, and we knew what we know, we would probably have different policies in there...

One of the respondents viewed this as a common theme with any type of development,

The bottom line is that the developer is out to make money, and if there is a tree with an eagle's nest on it, and it has to go, it's gotta go... That's the world we live in right now... And I think to some extent that happened... But I have to give them credit for the amount of effort and resources they put to minimize those... like wildlife corridor areas, and money and resources they gave back to the community for community amenities... They gave a lot for their right to develop here...

The latter point illustrated one of the policies within the OCP that the community was experimenting with – having developers contribute to the community for the right to develop in the area. As one of the councilors pointed out,

Since we are on a peninsula, and have a limited land base, we are lucky in that we can clearly say what we want to see... If we want affordable housing, we tell [the developers] that we want affordable housing... We are the first ones to be doing it this way... requiring them to build it for us, and they don't have a choice...

And so the District utilized a number of policy strategies to ensure it was getting development cost charges, green spaces, donations for community amenities, infrastructure improvements, and other community investments that were put on the developers. For the first time in its history Ucluelet was seeing development contributing to the community. Looking back, Sean recalled,

There were huge dollars in fishing and logging that went out from this community and nothing was ever built for the people... nothing ever trickled down here... from all the fortunes that went out of [Ucluelet]...

Not only did it not happen in the past; Tofino down the road was exemplifying development with no benefits to the community. Quoting Justin,

In Tofino, big resorts came in and never gave anything to the community for the privilege of developing in their town... [Here], we asked that the town gets something for the development and these are translated as the development cost charges... [The District planner] was very open to all kinds of suggestions from the community [about those]... He was very open and forthright with the people of the town... [And even though] he is guided and bound by provincial laws as to what he has to do... You know, if somebody wants to come in and develop, nobody can stop them... But he can sure guide that development, so the town gets a good product and extra benefits from it...

The comparison with Tofino was brought up over and over again. As Elizabeth argued, “why would you not put things back into your community?... that’s ridiculous...” In Ucluelet, on the other hand, those “extra benefits” from development translated in a number of accomplished and on-going community projects. Lindsay explained,

The developers now are giving us things that they don’t even have to... donating to the Food Bank, to the Wild Pacific Trail Society, to a new Community Center... That is not required of them, but they are doing it... They want to be a part of the community, [and] it’s to their benefit that our community grows in a healthy way in every way – social, economic, environmental...

One of the requirements that the District of Ucluelet placed on developers was to guarantee public access to the waterfront “where feasible,” and ensure that access by building sections of the Wild Pacific Trail. The issue of the Trail, as many agreed, not only had an overwhelming community support, it was the issue that brought the community together and raised the awareness about potential consequences of the development.

Theme 5: Public Access to the Waterfront (Wild Pacific Trail)

The story of the Wild Pacific Trail is quite fascinating all by itself. The vision of the Trail was initially developed by the man everyone in Ucluelet calls “Oyster Jim” – an American who moved to Ucluelet many years ago, started an oyster farm, and over time nurtured a passion and appreciation of the oceanfront. Initial sketches of the Trail (at that time it was called the Pacific Rim Trail) were developed and presented to the Town Council and the Chamber of Commerce back in the 1980s, yet it took Jim almost twenty years to pick allies, get the community on board, and see the opening of the first section of the Wild Pacific Trail in 1999. Back then, nobody could have thought the Trail would become a rallying point for the entire town, and nobody indeed foresaw it would provide the community and its visitors with the 80% of public access to the waterfront amidst some of the most expensive development on the west coast of Canada.

The main controversy revolved not so much around whether to have the Wild Pacific Trail, but around the location of the Trail. As Mark explained,

We have a policy... to ensure 100% public access to the waterfront where feasible... [and] we use it where we need to... The biggest controversy... Some people say the Trail should be on the water, others say it should be in the trees... You have to find a balance...

In other words, designating a trail that would skirt all along the waterfront was one thing, but actually building it that was at times problematic. As one of the respondents explained,

In [some people’s] minds they felt the Trail could have the whole headland without seeing any rooflines, and it’s just not going to happen...

The residents insisted on having 100% of public access along with a 100-meter green space setback from the waterline, while the developers were interested in securing some

of the waterfront properties in order to “get the value from development, to recover costs and be able to donate to the community.” At the end, the consensus was reached to have 100% of the public access to the waterfront “where feasible,” and this requirement was officially incorporated into the OCP. Today, the most recent Official Community Plan states one of the requirements pertaining to all Development Permit Areas as to “maintain and create 100% of the Wild Pacific Trail along the coastline, where feasible on properties located along the waterfront.” In reality, this translates in 80% of the public access to the waterfront, with remaining 20% becoming a “bargaining tool” for the District. Quoting Justin,

A lot of people are very proud of this trail, there’s a lot of community support for it... So when the developer wants to take some of it away from the foreshore, there’s usually a lot of opposition, but it’s usually a good bargaining tool... so that the District gets something out of it...

This unique and creative approach to securing public access to the waterfront was perceived by some of the residents as a major “paradigm shift.” As Brandon noted,

Securing the waterfront for the future residents before development came in... that’s a real paradigm shift... We’re saving irreplaceable public access by having a Trail in as many locations on the waterfront as possible... [You know], a lot of communities are buying back properties and turning them into parkland... and what we tried to do here was to introduce the Trail as a highlight feature, and have the developers come in and develop the land, but with the Trail already designated and in place... It was a shift in thinking – putting access to the waterfront as a public space... I think that a key piece to the whole OCP was to: (a) recognize that, (b) implement it, and (c) try to figure out what the members of the community felt would fit within it...

Community sentiments about the Wild Pacific Trail were rather strong, and losing the most valuable asset to the developers was frightening. As Lance pointed out, putting the land for sale “in the area where these people grew up and played... in their playground... [by taking away this land], you are taking away [their] way of life...” At the same time,

the significance of this asset remained largely unrecognized until the first part of the Trail opened. Michael recalled,

When people started walking the Trail, and saw what we had here... that was what started making people aware of what they had in their own community... and that can be a difficult thing...

And so the dispute began. The community wanted to have the Trail, and the developers wanted to have valuable waterfront properties. As Kyle explained,

The developers were obviously interested in creating giant waterfront trophy homes for rich people to own who would live here for three months in a year and would lock up the entire waterfront... We'd never be able to get to our own waterfront... So the Trail became a real flashy point... it started getting accolades from travel writers from all over the place which Ucluelet had never had before... It became a real point of pride for the town, the only tangible point of pride for the town... It's a proud town, but we didn't really have anything to be proud of... As a town it's not a beautiful place, big old box houses, telephone and power lines strung everywhere... Aesthetically it's not a lovely place... So the Trail became a rallying point for the entire town, being able to stand up to the developers and say, 'No, we want access to our own waterfront...' Ideally, we would ideally like to have the Trail along the 100% of the waterfront... but it was the real lever whereby we could get something back from developers... and it certainly had community support... We weren't that savvy in regard to staff accommodation etc., but we certainly wanted our Trail...

And so the policies in regard to the public access to the waterfront were incorporated into the OCP, yet the community had to persuade developers that having the Wild Pacific

Trail would be a "win-win" situation for both parties. Quoting Michael,

[The District] didn't compromise... They had to convince the developers that that would be good for them too to have the Trail... [They even] rejected one of the developers because he wouldn't have public access to the waterfront... And these were quite expensive developments – hundreds of millions of dollars... They said, 'We would find somebody who will [put the Trail]...' It took a lot of balls from the community to say, 'We have priorities here, and these are our priorities, so if you are not willing to adjust to them, someone else will...'

In order to persuade the developers about the value of the Trail, it had to “earn its place at the table,” and the only way to demonstrate how powerful and special an asset it was, was to actually build it. For the community, the Trail “gave a sense of why you are living here” (Elizabeth), but for the developers the value of the Trail had to be communicated differently. Fortunately for Ucluelet, Weyerhaeuser happened to be “trail-friendly” and “bought into” the idea of having the Trail in the community. As one of the respondents explained,

You know, you can force developers to do stuff, and that’s basically what’s happening with everyone else except for [Weyerhaeuser]... [We would not have the Trail] if we didn’t have a ‘trail-friendly’ developer and land owner... who attaches to a larger vision and importance of the Trail... If it hadn’t been for [the developer], we still would have been with one little section, frustrated and everything else... It would have been tough... [You know], it’s refreshing working with people who are good to their word...

At the time when these interviews were conducted, the District of Ucluelet had already completed construction of over half of the final length of the Trail (when completed, the Trail will stretch 14km, or 8.7miles). The unique water-land interface of the Trail could indeed be considered one of the most treasured assets of the community. The uniqueness of the Trail was underscored by Sean,

Typically, anywhere you go, those are access trails... They go down and dump you on the beach... This is a scenic trail... so it’s very much different... This trail showcases not only the coast line and the wildlife, but also the amazing trees right on the edge... those have twisted trunks and are lovely... It’s a very unique piece of real estate and it’s only right on the edge that it has meaning, and that’s where the Trail really has the most importance... It looks like now with the OCP amendments and the changes that came with the OCP process, the acceptance and support of the community, despite the reluctance of a lot of the developers, they are going to have to incorporate it... And I must say that the way it’s being incorporated, with all of the interconnecting trails, it’s creating a system and that is going to be a huge, huge asset...

Already established parts of the Wild Pacific Trail quickly became one of the main tourist attractions in the community. Visitors were using the Trail to hike, meet local residents, watch the wildlife and nature, and watch ocean storm waves. As more and more tourists were traveling to Ucluelet to take pleasure in its small town friendly atmosphere and magnificent landscape, the community was beginning to witness impacts of the tourism industry, both positive and negative. With new developments and the influx of new people into the District, the community was undergoing a number of changes with which residents were concerned. The theme of tourism impacts and community changes was definitely at the forefront of many of the interviews; it is further discussed in the section that follows.

Theme 6: Tourism Impacts and Other Community Changes

Despite the large number of visitors flocking into the District, Ucluelet has not reached its “saturation” stage of tourism development. At the same time, tourism impacts on the community have been very visible and at times worrying. As Sean pointed out, whether tourism was a blessing or a curse, was a “matter of perspective.” Opinions on whether those impacts have been positive or negative diverged widely, with some arguing that tourism has been a blessing for the community, and others focusing on mostly negative impacts. Among a number of tourism impacts on the community, economic, environmental, and social impacts were of most concern to the respondents. The theme of social impacts deserves special attention, as changes in community fabric was at the forefront of most of those interviewed. While this section will focus on broad

impacts of tourism on the District, the following section will address the issue of social capital in more detail.

For a resource based town that historically relied on forestry and fishing, diversification was needed to “keep heads above water,” and tourism was seen as a logical choice. Moderate climate along with a combination of the old growth temperate rainforest and the ocean created a unique combination of natural attractions, catching the attention of tourists from all over the world. The Clayoquot Sound protests of 1993 only further strengthened already existing interest in the area; even though tourists had been coming to the region for decades, it was not until the 1990s that the community began experiencing a sudden increase in the numbers of visitors. Some argued that it was the tourism industry that jump-started development in Ucluelet. As Elizabeth recalled,

[Tourism] has sustained us for the last seven-eight years... We would have really struggled, and the town would have become a ghost town, if it hadn't been for the Taucan development that jump started other developments... I can guarantee that the tourism industry is the one that's sustaining us here...

While the shift to tourism was inevitable, the District of Ucluelet was not so naïve to think that tourism only would save the town. With “globally trendy” destinations of Whistler and Tofino in the province, it had the privilege of closely watching both destinations go through the major pitfalls of poor planning – “not approving development for the right reason, getting nothing from developers, allowing development to go rampant, and stirring a lot of animosity between tourists and local residents by bringing in seasonal residents and displacing long term community members” (Susan). Both destinations served as a point of reference for Ucluelet, especially Tofino which was just up the road. As Brandon noted,

We have a tourism based economy up the road in Tofino, and we can see what works and what doesn't work there... Tofino has gone through large growth with very little planning, and there are certain pitfalls in doing that... So it's always been good to have that community to gauge our progress... If you didn't have that community next to you, you might not be aware of some of the pitfalls...

Examples of Whistler and Tofino were used to illustrate a case of "tourism gone wrong," be it economic, environmental, or social development. Starting with the economy, the District of Ucluelet quickly realized that it did not want to become a "one-horse town," putting all of its eggs in one basket. Having previous experience with overrelying on one industry also served the town a valuable lesson. This time, Ucluelet wanted to diversify. In Mark's words,

We don't want to become a 'one-horse town' that will die in the winter... we don't want to become just a tourism town, like Tofino... We want to maintain our industries, perhaps have value added industries... We built an eco-industrial park in 2000 (where the waste material from one industry is used by another), and we are pushing [other initiatives] through our Ucluelet Economic Development Corporation... We don't want to have tourism and ecotourism only...

Created in 2000, Ucluelet Economic Development Corporation was charged with bringing businesses to the local economy. Acknowledging tourism as one of the elements of the region's economy, it nevertheless focused on what David characterized as a "three-legged stool of diversity – forestry, fishery, and tourism." Lucas further explained,

We aim for diversification here... We learned from Whistler and Tofino (who have gone just about 100% tourism), and saw the effects on their economy and community... We've got diversity now which is much healthier, and the tourism base is the thing that kept our heads above water... If we relied strictly on resource extraction, you know where we would be... but if you [develop tourism] properly, it mixes into the blend quite nicely... it shows the people this is the way to do it, and this is the right way to do it...

For small businesses, this diversification meant expanded opportunities. As Michael pointed out,

People are starting to realize now that there can be good livings made here... [Tourism] has been a very good thing, it provided a lot of employment, it revitalized the town and brought in a lot of young people... [But] for any community to be successful, you have to have diversity, you can't be strictly tourism... If you are going to put all your money into tourism, it's not a good thing... What if you are going to have an oil spill, and it's all over... So diversity is a good thing...

Diversity for Ucluelet today meant eco- and adventure tourism, some forestry, some fishing, beam cutters, metal work, and arts, among others. While tourism was often noted as the "core" industry, some respondents believed it was not tourism but real estate that was driving the local economy. Kyle explained it this way,

We haven't seen yet what the effect of tourism might be... [You know], a friend of mine said, 'Ucluelet hasn't had a tourism economy yet, it has a real estate and development economy'... that's what's driving our development now... In part it would have happened anyway because of the retirement boomers with lots of money who want vacation spots and their little cottages in the wild... We aren't really in a tourism economy yet much more than we have been before...

On a more radical side, real estate development was viewed as a "curse" for the town,

[Tourism] is not a curse, because we do live in a very beautiful place, and there's nothing wrong with showing it to the world and having people come here... The curse has been a real estate development... There's so much greed... People come from wherever, buy a house, hold it and flip it... It creates an unstable community...

Despite the difference of opinions in regard to the role of the real estate industry, the housing "crunch" has been stirring a lot of attention, making the community rethink the way development was being done in Ucluelet. As one of the respondents emphasized, "today the real estate has leverage, as opposed to natural resources;" in his opinion, this was being done in hopes to boost the economy to what it was in the 1960s, but in a different way. Quoting Sean,

[Tourism] is going to help drive prices through the roof... and its going to be tougher and tougher in the next couple of years because the prices are going to go

up... The prices for accommodation and stuff here... We haven't even begun to see resort stuff built here, it's just starting, and we already have a huge housing crunch... There isn't even a campground free in the summer in this town... [and] once the boom really hits, it's going to get worse... [so] the people who are on the margin now, the fixed incomers, the workers who work on a fish plant, they are gonna be all shouldered out...

The prospect of losing its long-term residents and young families with children closely resembled the situation in Whistler and Tofino, and the District of Ucluelet realized there was an urgent need to address this issue. Early on, the town understood that in order to be successful, it had to maintain itself as a "real community, with families and seniors..."

And so the policies had to be created to tackle the problem. As Kyle remarked,

[Without proper planning] the town was going to turn into Whistler – a textbook example of an unlivable tourist town... where a tiny condominium would cost a million and a half dollars, and staff are living five to an apartment... A lot of people like Whistler, but it's not a town to raise your kids...

Community concerns were partly addressed in the OCP through provision of requirements for affordable and staff housing, however this did not stop the spurt of the housing prices. Many agreed this was not only specific to Ucluelet, but rather reflected a global trend. As Lucas pointed out,

There are negative aspects to [tourism development] in the fact that you have got such high property values, which of course negatively affects especially the old folks that are sitting on a fixed income.... [Several years ago] they were in an 80-thousand-dollar home, and now it's worth three-quarters of a million... Their tax base has gone up [while] the incomes have not changed... This is negative, but that happens in Canada or U.S., or anywhere... That's life...

In addition to addressing the housing issues, the District of Ucluelet had been closely working with developers on the opportunities to contribute to the community. Reflected in the OCP as development cost charges, density bonusing, and amenity contributions, among others, these "gifts" ranged from park space, to land and monetary donations.

Over the period of several years following the OCP review of 2003-2004, the town saw construction of a basketball court and a skateboard park, infrastructure improvements, and others; as this was being written, the community was in the process of building a new Community Center. While some developers perceived these as “planning tricks,” the community was on board. Remembering the past when none of the industries contributed to the community, the District was not going to let it happen again. Quoting Lucas,

Now that we have been discovered and tourism is here, it has become a blessing for the town... We wouldn't have built some of the amenities that we have now without tourism being a major factor in it... It's been healthy for the town... We have learned from the mistakes of others to make it better for our town, and control it to a degree... [And you know], when you build amenities like that, who benefits most – your community...

To further expand its financial resource pool, Ucluelet had been working on a “resort municipality” designation. Along with 13 other communities in British Columbia that have tourism as their major industry, it was recently designated a “resort municipality.” The status allows it to introduce an additional 3% hotel tax and use part of the revenues towards tourism infrastructure improvements. As Lindsay explained,

Those funds must be spent on infrastructure that increases your tourism economy, but for us anything that benefits our community is also increasing our tourism economy... Like Trail extensions, beautification projects – they make it a better place to live, but also create a tourism infrastructure...

While developing a tourism core, it was also clear that the town did not want to lose one of its strongest attractors – a small town feel. According to Lindsay,

A very important thing when it comes to tourism... is that we are still a working community, we're a real community, we're not just overrun by tourists and that's all you see... That really works for us, and it seems to be our niche, so its very important for us to keep all those various activities alive because its our tourism draw... Like the Trail – it's terrific for tourism, but it's also a great source of community pride and ownership...

In a similar manner, Michael reflected,

It's a working peoples' town, and people are not getting ripped off... That's part of the attraction for people to see – that it's a diverse town...

At the same time, it was noticeable that the community felt uneasy about the direction the town had been going. With the constant change, some of the respondents were unsure of where they would find themselves in a few years down the road, while others acknowledged that overall, things were better now, and at least there was a sense of direction to the development. A fear of tourism “being a monster and killing a community” was not very strong as there were clear and visible efforts of the District of Ucluelet and its planning department to regulate the change. Still, uncertainty lingered.

This uncertainty in a way affected how some of the residents viewed tourism development in general, and tourists in particular. While there was no open hostility and unfriendliness, it was apparent that the community was becoming slightly irritated with too many visitors in a short period of time (as Michael noted, “not everybody is happy having to stop behind 20 tourists, who stopped to look at the deer...”). Yet everyone agreed they were better off as compared to Whistler or Tofino that both went “overboard” with tourism development, and were “tumbled to death” by large numbers of tourists.

Jared shared his view that,

Some people hate [tourism], more in Tofino than in Ucluelet, because of the traffic... we are not used to it... People are grumbling... In Tofino, [some] want to create a ‘Kingdom of Tofino,’ and make a circle around where nothing takes place... They want to pull up a draw bridge and have nothing to do with the rest of the world... Here, we are much more open and friendly...

Justin also referred to parking and traffic as the major community concerns,

I think the biggest compromise Ucluelet had to make was parking and traffic... It used to be a nice town in the summer, but now its just cars parked everywhere,

it's crazy, awful in the summer... I don't think people hate tourists because so many people here also go away as tourists... [so] everybody has an idea of what it's like to be a tourist, and you can't dislike them for that... It's a frustration probably... with the parking, or you go to the CO-OP in the summer, and there's a big long line there... The worst thing is the big camper vans... but those things can be handled... [Overall], people do not dislike tourists, [but] what they don't like is that we kind of become a party town, too... Tofino is like that...

The crime rate has gone up as well. As David pointed out,

Before tourism... nobody locked their cars, nobody ever locked their houses 20 years ago... [Now] we get tourists who are 'living on the edge,' and it gets frustrating... Driving is more difficult – tourists stop everywhere in the middle of the road... We call this a 'red license plate syndrome' [referring to a large number of tourists coming from Alberta, mostly Europeans renting cars in Alberta]

On the other hand, there was a sense of community pride having such an abundance of natural resources at hand. As Lindsay put it,

[Generally], the community enjoys being host to the visitors... because you tend to take for granted what you have where you live, so it's very refreshing... It makes you feel proud of where you are...

Finally, it was the state of the environment that made Ucluelet residents worry. While most of the respondents were concerned about the loss of green and park spaces, some were looking into the future. Lance explained it this way,

Anytime you start bringing those numbers of tourists in a small place, there will be an impact... All the waste generated... fish resources depleted... On the positive side, we [are beginning to see] a lot of softer tourism practices... ecotourism that is not hurting the environment as much... Eventually, it comes to ecological capacity and sustainability – how many halibut can you pull out of the ocean before the population gets distressed... Tourists that come here fishing, they are not thinking about that...

While economic and environmental concerns were clearly high on the list of the issues, it was the social impacts of tourism that topped that list. With CAD9 million in development costs projected for the next 5-10 years, along with the rapid increase in visitor numbers, the community felt uneasy about the social consequences of tourism

growth. The issue that appeared to be on everyone's mind was the destruction of community fabric and the threat of losing social capital. These issues are further addressed in the section that follows.

Theme 7: Community Fabric and Social Capital

The loss of social capital and the community fabric were of a genuine concern for both long-term residents, as well as those who moved to Ucluelet in search of a quiet but high quality lifestyle for their families. Different aspects of social capital were brought up by the respondents, among them – community cohesiveness, community spirit, the town's personality, community integrity, and the quality of lifestyle. All of those were of great importance to Ucluetians; if there was one issue that united everyone, that was the issue of social capital. Parties that would find themselves on the opposite sides on most other community issues, joined together in their care for the community. First, there was Jennifer – a business owner who came to Ucluelet several years ago in search of a better lifestyle and business opportunities,

[I believe] it is very important to feel community cohesiveness... We have a very cohesive community here in a way that there's a diverse mix of people who have lived here for many years, newcomers, and first nations... There's no nastiness in behavior towards each others, everyone respects and works and lives well with each other... This cohesiveness [in a way] contributes to community success...

Similar, Elizabeth moved to Ucluelet a few decades ago from a large city. She recalled her first impressions of the town,

It's a very friendly small community, very cohesive place... One of the things I really like about here is that it's not cold but very welcoming... and there is no clash with the new people coming in... Here everybody just gets along...

Many of those who moved to Ucluelet because of the lifestyle argued that,

People lived here because it was a sleepy little working class town... We're at the end of the road, and you didn't have to be bothered with the big city type stuff... And that, of course, is changing wildly now... A lot of houses in town – the newer ones, and the older ones – are being bought up by people from out of town – West Vancouver, Calgary, Germany...

These newcomers were also attracted by the small town atmosphere of Ucluelet.

Brandon, who moved to the town from a large city, explained,

Some of the larger communities are developed not sustainably... There are no corner stores anymore... I think from a sustainability prospective, living in a smaller community like this... you can actually live a better life as compared to a big city... That's one of the reasons we came out... This was the place where we wanted to raise our kids...

Over and over again, this special character of Ucluelet was what the town's residents wanted to protect the most. As Mark pointed out,

People don't want integrity of the community taken out by resorts... They want to protect their community and keep what it is... that character and feel that everybody likes about it... They want to maintain that sense of place and integrity of the community... [Especially] they want to maintain integrity and character of the town core, and move the commercial development outside, [so it's] not obtrusive...

Realizing that change was inevitable to a certain extent, the community turned to the

District in search for ways to protect itself. Lance explained,

There's a lot of people here that see themselves as waiters and waitresses of the rich... and it's not a satisfying life... That's the fear here – that the local people are going to become slaves to the rich people who will come here to play golf... The worry is that [Ucluelet] will become rich persons' playground... [But] if [the District] is even more aggressive in developing affordable housing in conjunction with massive development... that might help...

In addition to affordable and staff housing as a ways to address community needs,

perhaps the most controversy revolved around the issue of vacation rentals. Section 6.13 of the Zoning Bylaw No.800 (1999) of the District of Ucluelet defines vacation rentals as the following: (1) the "VR-1" designation, restricting the temporary accommodation as

accessory to a permanent residential use, and (2) the “VR-2” designation, permitting the temporary accommodation to be either an accessory use or a principal use (District of Ucluelet, 1999). In other words, while the former one requires a landowner living on-site, the latter one allows renting out the property without having to live on-site. It is the latter one that stirred most of the discussion in Ucluelet. If the town wanted to maintain its community core, it needed a cohesive community where neighbors would know each other and take care of their town, while “absentee owners” carried with them a threat of destroying economy and that very community fabric of which Ucluetians were so proud. Unlike bed and breakfast accommodations, vacation rentals brought with them a fear of uncertainty – of who was going to live in the residence – and the community did not like that. Justin explained,

We fought to keep the downtown core for the businesses, we didn’t want the whole downtown core developed with vacation rentals... As a community, we asked that the new development contained all the absentee landlord housing... We didn’t want them popping up in established neighborhoods like in Tofino... When you moved there, you knew everybody, and now it’s all vacation rentals... We asked if the people want to have bed and breakfasts in the old section of town – it’s fine, because they create home-based businesses, people live there, they are a part of the community, their kids go to school here... But vacation rentals... it’s a business that’s owned by somebody from Calgary, Vancouver, Victoria... [And] so we did seek to protect our neighborhoods...

Two main fears surrounded vacation rentals – a fear of new “absentee owners” not contributing to the economy, and a fear of seasonal renters disrupting established neighborhoods. As Lance pointed out,

The worry is that the people that can afford to buy these properties are people that don’t have an intent to live here all year round... They will come for 6 weeks, go fishing and leave... If they are not here the whole year, they are not contributing to the economy...

While contribution to the economy was important, it was not as critical as community social capital. As Lucas remarked, having “absentee owners” would be devastating,

It changes the whole make up of the neighborhood... when you pluck a few of them in a residential neighborhood, you’ve got nothing but visitors there all the time... [And] we try to maintain the feel of the town as much as possible...

Jared once again brought up the example of Tofino,

One of the main controversies [here] is vacation rentals, when you can rent the whole house or a part of your house... We learned from Tofino, since they are ahead of us in tourism... They were building houses only to rent them out... They have whole streets where noone lives... It becomes a resort without a name, where everybody owns a little home that they rent out... We see what that does, so we only have vacation rentals every so often (spread them out) in different parts of town... We changed that through the public process [OCP]...

Kyle referred to the example of Tofino as a “gigantic hotel,”

[In Tofino]... a whole prime neighborhood – people bought up houses there and rented them out for accommodation, so what is in the OCP as a community neighborhood is in fact a gigantic hotel... It won’t happen here, because we learned from their experience... We are very cognitive of that, and if someone is renting their place out, they get pressure from the bylaw people...

Jared and Kyle were not the only ones comparing Ucluelet with Tofino. Lindsay echoed their concerns by saying,

People here don’t want to be like Tofino... Their growth happened so quickly, and [now] they are having all those problems... Ucluelet doesn’t want to have those problems... They ran out of water last summer... They are moving too fast and not keeping up... Every other house in Tofino is vacation rental... People in Tofino say they don’t know who their neighbors are going to be one week to the next... You lose your volunteer folks... and that was a real concern here...

To add to the list, there was a partying element that residents were concerned with, but here opinions diverged, with some arguing that often times this fear was unsubstantiated and in fact could be regulated through municipal policies,

People have been worried about their neighbors renting out their houses by the night and people coming in partying and raping their children and it’s

ridiculous... In other communities [that have vacation rentals] they really don't have very many problems... There are very isolated issues – you may have one house that has one group of bad people per year... But it's up to the owner who they are renting to...

Regulating the location of vacation rentals, however, did not address the question of how it would help the town maintain its character and personality. Moving these properties outside the town seemed to resolve a part of the problem, yet the main question remained: with vacation rentals or other type of development, what kind of people would Ucluelet attract? Quoting Brandon,

What kind of people would the community attract... they wouldn't live here and wouldn't contribute to the community... raising the concern about the sense of community, especially in terms of volunteering and keeping the community spirit... Vacation rentals... drive out the house market for affordable housing, so you lose a lot of your core community members, and those are the people who help support community activities through volunteering – they'd be the soccer coaches, the ambulance attendants, the fire department people... Your core community becomes totally tourism, without any other factors to support it... And you see that happening up the road...

While some respondents (especially the relatively new residents) discussed how different it was to live in Ucluelet after having lived in a large city, the old time residents were not so enthusiastic,

Until [recently], we were still a sleepy little town, but we always had a good community spirit here... People knew each other and you knew who your neighbors are, you knew who were in the schools... It has changed in the last couple of years... I don't know my neighbors anymore...

Some were even contemplating moving out of Ucluelet because of these changes,

People who move in here, they bring money from elsewhere; people who live here have no hope anymore... In the last few years people had been leaving this town, partly because it's becoming more expensive, partly because they didn't live here for what this town is becoming... [Some] people are moving out because as the school enrollment drops, there's less and less money, and it turns into a worse and worse school... [Some] people that I know are home schooling their

kids or moving away... That's really a death of a community when the families are moving away and not moving in...

Despite the differences in opinions as to what social consequences of development were the most critical to Ucluelet, most of the respondents concluded with "let's see what will happen in the next couple of years"... Some spoke of uncertainty and sighed, while others were optimistic and believed that the OCP policies of the District would not allow tourism development in Ucluelet to go wild. Everyone hoped that despite the large influx of tourists, their community would preserve its spirit and find the way to protect itself from unwanted consequences of development. Having examples of Whistler and Tofino at hand, most of the study participants believed that their District was savvy enough to take development under control; they also expressed faith in good leadership and strength of their community to deal with the most critical issues.

Comparing and Contrasting Community Tourism Planning in Three Communities

This chapter pursued two broad objectives: (1) understanding contexts in which planning processes occurred in Dubuque, Hood River, and Ucluelet, and (2) understanding planning processes within their contexts. Examination of community based planning processes through the lenses of their participants revealed a number of interesting findings: (1) it was the context that defined the process; (2) contextual differences between Dubuque, Hood River, and Ucluelet were determined by a number of factors, among them – the size of community, the legislative framework for the planning processes, community history and fabric, the type of residents, the level of tourism development and infrastructure, as well as the place of the destination on the tourism area life cycle model, and (3) public participation in the planning processes was determined by

a complex palette of aspects including the scope of tourism development, land ownership, the role of tourism in the local economy, resident attitudes toward tourism development, the relationship between community leadership and their constituencies, availability of a shared vision of tourism development, as well as social fabric of the community.

Contextual differences between the communities examined in the study partially explained who the participants in the planning processes were, what was their role, motivations and frustrations, as well as why they placed importance on different sets of factors. Placement of communities in this study on the tourism area life cycle model further illustrated that depending on the scope of tourism development and its role in the local economy, participation patterns varied. The following chapter will examine these and other issues in further detail.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to compare and contrast the current practices of citizen involvement in community tourism planning with the framework of deliberative democracy. The goal of this study was to expand the literature on tourism planning which currently lacks a working framework for participatory community tourism planning. Drawing from political philosophy, democratic theory, and planning literature, this study utilized the framework of deliberative democracy and planning as communicative action, in order to contribute to the development of a model of participatory community tourism planning.

As tourism planners and practitioners find themselves designing participatory public processes around complex modern planning problems, they increasingly point at complexities of these processes that must be accounted for, including their highly political nature and the need to make value based and moral decisions. State or provincial mandates often require citizen input in planning, yet fail to specify what form it should take. As a result, planners are often left with the broad guidelines that are not tailored to tourism development, and little to no specificity to assist them in their outreach efforts. For many, this creates a favorable situation when a “checkmark” approach of public involvement is used in the form of traditional public hearings/ community surveys; for others, it opens a broad range of opportunities to experiment with public engagement models that would best involve their constituencies. At the same time, lack of knowledge of public participation mechanisms frequently constraints those wishing to reach out and

engage a broad range of stakeholders in a process of dialogue and mutual learning. While practical reality (land use laws, power struggles, and the number and influence of the key players, among others) hinders some of these initiatives, cases of citizen engagement in public decision making have become more common than a decade ago.

With this in mind, this study focused on examining community tourism planning in practice, using cases of three distinctly different communities – Dubuque (Iowa), Hood River (Oregon), and Ucluelet (British Columbia). Contextually different, experiences of these communities provided an illustration of how community tourism planning “works” in practice. Comparing and contrasting planning practices in these communities was done utilizing a theoretical framework and a list of criteria essential for public participation, developed by Rowe, Marsh and Frewer (2001), Rowe, Marsh, Reynolds and Frewer (2001), and Marsh, Rowe and Frewer (2001).

The following sections of this chapter will summarize the main findings of this study. First, community tourism planning processes in Dubuque, Hood River, and Ucluelet will be placed in their respective contexts, using Butler’s (1980) model of the Tourism Area Life Cycle. Second, these tourism planning processes will be reviewed using a theoretical framework of Rowe, Marsh and Frewer (2001), Rowe, Marsh, Reynolds and Frewer (2001), and Marsh, Rowe and Frewer (2001) that was suggested as a test model for addressing the main principles of deliberative democratic processes. Finally, experiences of the three communities will be compared and contrasted, and a model of participatory community tourism planning will be presented.

Community Tourism Planning and the Tourism Area Life Cycle

As destinations and communities change over time, and hence develop their tourism products under different circumstances, it is important to place tourism planning processes these communities experience, in a broader context of tourism development in their respective areas. While some regions emerge as lucrative tourist destinations, others undergo periods of stagnation, or go “out of fashion.” In order to better understand and compare tourism development in Dubuque (Iowa), Hood River (Oregon), and Ucluelet (British Columbia), the Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) model was used as a descriptive tool for understanding the development of the tourism product in these communities. Having in mind that patterns of change may vary from one area to another, and that communities move from one stage of development to another differently (at times exhibiting characteristics of several stages of the life cycle), the three communities in the study were compared side by side with regard to their tourism development. Figure 13 illustrates their place on the Tourism Area Life Cycle.

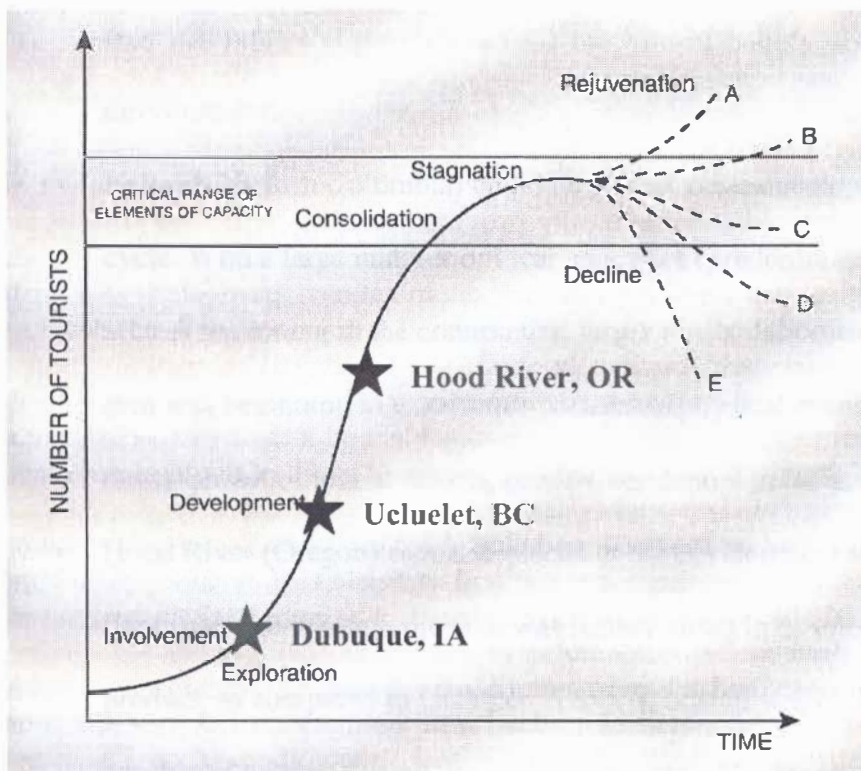


Figure 13. Dubuque, Hood River, and Ucluelet on a Tourism Area Life Cycle.

Source: adapted from Butler, 1980.

As the model depicts, communities in the study were exhibiting characteristics of different stages of tourism development, namely:

- Dubuque (Iowa) could arguably be placed at the involvement stage of the destination life cycle. While the number of tourists had been increasing over the last years, their impact on the economy or social fabric of the community was not yet significant; local government and tourism agencies perceived tourism growth as an opportunity to diversify the regional economy, hence the focus was on promoting the destination to identified potential target markets; hospitality,

entertainment, and convention facilities were appearing to support tourism development;

- Ucluelet (British Columbia) could be placed at the development stage of the life cycle. With a large number of local amenities (predominantly in the hospitality sector) remaining in the community, larger tourist facilities began to appear; the area was beginning to experience noticeable physical changes (including development of tourist resorts, condos, residential units, and a golf course), and
- Hood River (Oregon) was also placed at the development stage of the destination life cycle, even though the area was further along in development of its tourism product, as compared to Ucluelet. A tourist season was clearly present, and the number of tourists during the peak season arguably quadrupled the size of the local community; tourism was becoming one of the major components of the local economy.

This initial placement of communities on a Tourism Area Life Cycle model illustrated the argument made earlier – destinations do not exhibit clear linear patterns of change while developing their tourist product, and at times possess characteristics of several stages of development at the same time. In terms of local involvement in tourism planning and development, Butler (1980) argued that it declines with communities entering the development stage of the life cycle. Both the communities of Ucluelet and Hood River exhibited great interest in tourism development, while Dubuque, being at the involvement stage of tourism development, did not have such a clearly expressed pattern of local involvement.

It would be naïve, of course, to attribute differences in tourism planning processes to the destination's place on the life cycle model only. In practice, these differences are underpinned by a complex palette of factors including land ownership, power dynamics and influence of the main stakeholders, the role of community leadership, community size and social fabric, process design, structure of the regional economy, and others. They will be examined later in this chapter. The following section places community tourism planning in Dubuque, Hood River, and Ucluelet within a theoretical framework of Rowe, Marsh and Frewer (2001), Rowe, Marsh, Reynolds and Frewer (2001), and Marsh, Rowe and Frewer (2001), in order to examine their processes through the lens of the deliberative democratic framework, and to understand the findings of this study.

Community Tourism Planning Within a Theoretical Framework

Not only were planning processes in Dubuque, Hood River, and Ucluelet contextually different, they also adhered to different sets of acceptance and process criteria outlined by Rowe, Marsh and Frewer (2001), Rowe, Marsh, Reynolds and Frewer (2001), and Marsh, Rowe and Frewer (2001). The following tables examine how each of the communities designed their processes, within the deliberative democratic framework. Acceptance criteria refer to the features of a method that make it acceptable to the wider public, while the process criteria refer to the features of the process that are liable to ensure that it takes place in an effective manner (Rowe & Frewer, 2000).

Table 7.

Acceptance criteria for the effective conduct of a participation exercise: The case of Dubuque (Iowa).

Criteria

Representativeness	Participants in “America’s River” process represented community leaders including the City of Dubuque, the National Mississippi River Museum, Dubuque Area Chamber of Commerce, the Greater Dubuque Development Corporation, private developers and donors. Citizenry was involved in the process mostly as advisors, donors, volunteers, and promoters; they held no decision making power.
Independence	Participants in the process had a certain degree of control over its procedures by negotiating their views. While there were vested interests present at the table, community feedback was sought and evaluated as a degree of support of the project.
Early involvement	The key players were involved in the process from its inception. The public was involved in the latter stages through fundraising and volunteering.
Influence	Planning for “America’s River” not only produced feasible economic outcomes for the community, it nurtured the climate of partnerships and collaboration that are being adhered to today.
Transparency	The planning process was transparent and the community could see what was going on, yet they had no impact on decision making process.

Source: adapted from Rowe and Frewer (2000).

Table 8.

Process criteria for the effective conduct of a participation exercise: The case of Dubuque (Iowa).

Criteria

Resource accessibility	Facilities, expertise and background information were available to the key players from the beginning (including expert involvement, feasibility, and marketing studies). Grant funding from Vision Iowa, corporate and private contributions ensured financial stability of the project.
Task definition	As the planning for “America’s River” proceeded, and funding became available, the scope of the initial project grew to include \$188 million for the first phase of development, and \$218 million for the second phase of development.
Structured decision making	Planning for the process was done using a variety of formats including brainstorming sessions, focus groups, and community and school projects. Decision making for the process was done by the key players utilizing extensive expert involvement, in a form of consensus building. Even though this procedure was considered time consuming, it ensured buy-in of all major stakeholders.
Cost effectiveness	Costs for the process were significantly reduced as the parties came to the table equipped with planning and feasibility studies, community visioning documents, and expert analyses. Many of the important contacts had been already established prior to the start of the process; this ensured effective and efficient use of resources including time, money, and personnel.

Source: adapted from Rowe and Frewer (2000).

Table 9.

Acceptance criteria for the effective conduct of a participation exercise: The case of Hood River (Oregon).

Criteria

Representativeness	Participants in the Hood River Waterfront Park planning process were the City and the Port of Hood River, as well as the citizenry including business and property owners, and community activists. Some argued the most active participants represented the vocal minority, while others viewed them as representative of a good cross section of the community.
Independence	Community feedback was sought using a number of planning exercises including review of concept plans, and comments over what amenities should be included in the Waterfront Park. Process procedures were set forth by the Park Development Committee of Hood River representing the Port, the City, and the Hood River Valley Parks and Recreation District.
Early involvement	Initial stages of the process were designed by the Park Development Committee; the public got involved at later stages through public hearings, concept design reviews, as well as fundraising for the Park.
Influence	Hood River Waterfront Park planning process came as a result of decades of poor planning and lack of communication between the City, the Port, and Hood River community. Past conflicts and tensions, development gridlock and the inability to proceed with any of the planned projects, caused many of the key players to rethink their attitude to planning and decision making; today, both the City and the Port of Hood River are working on “building the bridges” and creating partnerships, realizing that improving the process will improve its outcomes.
Transparency	While previous processes suffered the lack of transparency, the Hood River Waterfront Park planning was transparent and the community could see what was going on.

Source: adapted from Rowe and Frewer (2000).

Table 10.

Process criteria for the effective conduct of a participation exercise: The case of Hood River (Oregon).

Criteria

Resource accessibility	Facilities, expertise and background information were available to the process participants from the beginning of the planning. Grant funding from the Oregon Parks laid the support base for the subsequent fundraising stage of the project.
Task definition	While the nature of the planning process was clearly defined (initiated by the concept design review, to be followed by the fundraising campaign), the scope of the project changed reflecting priorities at the time (to start the construction), and the funding available. Ultimately, the project was broken down in two phases of development, with the first phase currently in progress.
Structured decision making	While project participants represented different sections of the community, their role in the process was one of designing the concept Park, as well as supporting the fundraising campaign. Landscape architects were brought into the process to ensure shared understanding of the Park design by all participants. There was no minimum competence level needed in order to participate in the process, as the whole community was invited.
Cost effectiveness	Parts of the project were funded by its parties (e.g. concept design review was funded by the Hood River Valley Parks and Recreation District); large in-kind donations helped decrease the final sum total for the project.

Source: adapted from Rowe and Frewer (2000).

Table 11.

Acceptance criteria for the effective conduct of a participation exercise: The case of Ucluelet (British Columbia).

Criteria

Representativeness	Participants in the Official Community Planning (OCP) and rezoning of Weyerhaeuser lands represented the District of Ucluelet, the developer (Weyerhaeuser), and the local community. The public was involved from the very beginning of both processes through a series of formal and informal community events soliciting citizen input. While the final decisions were made by the Town Council, the small size of the community ensured the views of the public were heard and taken into consideration.
Independence	The process procedures were established by the Town Council in conjunction with the Malaspina University-College. While there were vested interests present at the table (e.g. real estate agents, or environmental groups), community feedback was sought and evaluated as a degree of support of the process.
Early involvement	All the key players and the community were involved in both processes from their inception. Participation mechanisms included public workshops, coffee house meetings, picnics, and community events, among others.
Influence	The OCP and rezoning of Weyerhaeuser lands not only initiated a number of development projects, they also set a precedent and created a standard for future planning processes to be conducted in collaboration with the local community.
Transparency	Both planning processes were transparent and the community could see what was going on. While some argued the public had unequal decision making power as compared to the developers, others indicated it was the process that was of the utmost importance to the community, and no decision would satisfy all parties.

Source: adapted from Rowe and Frewer (2000).

Table 12.

Process criteria for the effective conduct of a participation exercise: The case of Ucluelet (British Columbia).

Criteria

Resource accessibility	Facilities, expertise and background information were available to the process participants from the beginning (including expert involvement, as well as experience of the District planner). Limited budget and lack of staff only further reinforced the need for a partnership; collaboration with the Malaspina University-College proved to be an invaluable resource during the OCP process. Rezoning of Weyerhaeuser lands was funded by the developer; the presence of the Malaspina assisted with the public outreach efforts.
Task definition	While the scope of the OCP encompassed policy setting for the whole District of Ucluelet, rezoning of Weyerhaeuser lands focused on 620 acres of rainforest lands adjacent to the District.
Structured decision making	Both processes involved a number of participation mechanisms ranging from traditional open houses and workshops to coffee house meetings, picnics, and community events, among others. The final decisions were made by the Town Council as a part of community open houses.
Cost effectiveness	Costs for the process were reduced due to partnerships with the Malaspina University-College, as well as funding for the concept design review by the developer (Weyerhaeuser). Limited budget and lack of staff enforced effective and efficient use of resources including time, money, and personnel.

Source: adapted from Rowe and Frewer (2000).

While the theoretical framework of Rowe, Marsh and Frewer (2001), Rowe, Marsh, Reynolds and Frewer (2001), and Marsh, Rowe and Frewer (2001) helped better understand the design of each of the planning processes, it did not account for the contextual differences of these processes. The following section will argue that these contextual factors caused major distinctions to examined communities in how they addressed tourism planning processes and responded to the public concerns with regard to developing their tourism product. It will place each process in its respective context in order to illustrate how the context defined the process, and will combine the main issues and concerns outlined by each of the communities, in a simple model of participatory community tourism planning.

Towards a Model of Participatory Community Tourism Planning

While the previous two sections examined community tourism planning processes in Dubuque (Iowa), Hood River (Oregon), and Ucluelet (British Columbia), and placed them on a destination life cycle model, this section outlines lessons learned from these processes, in the form of a participatory community tourism planning model. In order to illustrate three processes in their respective contexts, it is necessary to compare and contrast unique features of each process.

The most notable similarity between the processes examined was in the role and importance of the natural resource base. As one of the main attractors for destinations developing their tourism product, the natural resource base (in our cases, waterfront areas) became the most valuable asset for communities, and the question of the best use of these resources became the cornerstone of all planning and development processes. At

the same time, the way these processes evolved differed from one area to another, once again, in response to unique contextual characteristics of the area.

In the case of Dubuque (Iowa), there were several factors that shaped the process, among them – previously experienced economic downturn and the dire need of economic development and jobs; involvement stage of tourism development when the community perceived tourism as the “panacea” for its developmental ills, and as an opportunity to diversify its economic base, as well as public ownership of the waterfront (riverfront) lands. Given these circumstances, any development and growth was perceived as positive, and the community was not necessarily concerned about the scope or the type of the proposed development. As a result, even though Dubuquers felt strongly about their community and its future, they remained confident enough to trust their elective officials to make crucial land use decisions for them. Seeing progress on the riverfront, revitalized downtown, and economic growth of the area only further secured this confidence. And so as community leaders were reaching out and involving citizens in visioning processes, major decisions for the waterfront development were made by the key players without direct input of their constituencies.

In Hood River (Oregon), the factors at play were quite different from those in Dubuque. As the waterfront land was owned by the Port of Hood River, the City and the public only had a partial influence over the type of development to be located on the waterfront. The tools used to control or prevent any unwanted development included zoning, citizen petitions, and ballot measures; the latter “Oregon tradition” of citizen participation in public affairs was particularly unique to planning processes in Hood River. Moreover, the community had already experienced a major tourism boom (along

with a number of positive and negative economic and social impacts of tourism), and tourism was clearly becoming the number one player in the local economy; hence, resident attitudes to tourism development were quite different from those in Dubuque. The social fabric of the Hood River community was also quite unique – an influx of new residents in the 1980s brought with it strong environmental views, and over the years the powerholders and community leaders came to understand that these views needed to be heard. Finally, public skepticism and distrust of developers/ property owners further galvanized the community to take an active role in shaping the future of Hood River through public decision making.

The public participation process in Ucluelet (Brisith Columbia) was perhaps the most illustrative of how contextual differences between communities shaped the way planning processes occur. As the smallest community in the study, Ucluelet nevertheless exhibited the strongest public interest and participation in developing its tourism product. Even though the community had not yet experienced the tourism boom and negative impacts of tourism development, examples of other neighboring destinations were illustrative of the route Ucluelet did not want to follow. With that in mind, a small community of fewer than 2,000 residents decided to take control over its growth and development by establishing stringent policies and regulations any potential developer would have to adhere to. Not only were administrative and political frameworks well developed in this small community; having these frameworks in place largely determined the power dynamics and political economy of the destination. Similar to Hood River, land ownership of the waterfront in Ucluelet was in private hands; however, when the developer (who also happened to be the land owner) outlined its proposed plan for the

development, the community came to the process well equipped with policy and land use frameworks in place. Trust in elected officials in Ucluelet did not mean minimal involvement; as the proposed development was going to directly affect each and everyone, a large portion of residents got directly involved in public planning process.

Even though some of the themes perceived as the most important to the process of community planning overlapped between the three communities, their meaning was unique and specific to the context of each process. Tables 13-15 outline these themes for each community in this study.

Table 13.

Community planning process in Dubuque (Iowa): The main themes.

Themes	
Shared vision	Availability of a broad, shared vision of the future of the community.
Collaboration and partnerships	Partnerships of the key stakeholders in the process; collaboration between stakeholders as a prerequisite to the process success.
Community leadership	The role of community leadership in organizing community “champions” around the vision.
Voices of the community	The role of the community in the process: educating the community about the proposed development and ensuring community buy-in into the process.
Scope and timing of development	Timely development addressing the need to diversify the local economy; large scope of the project reflecting community need for economic development and jobs.

Table 14.

Community planning process in Hood River (Oregon): The main themes.

Themes

Voices of the community	Variety and strength of community voices; range of tools available to the citizenry wanting to voice its opinions including extreme measures of petitions and ballot measures.
A multitude of worldviews	A broad range of worldviews ranging from preservation to urban development on the waterfront; the need to harmonize these worldviews through information sharing, improved communication and consensus building.
Community leadership	The role and impact of community leadership in the process; complex relationship between and interdependence of community leadership and their constituencies.
Public access to the waterfront	Public access to the waterfront in the form of a trail and the Waterfront Park as a rallying point for the entire community.
Tourism impacts and other community changes	Impacts of tourism development on local businesses, community lifestyles and the quality of life.
Community fabric and social capital	Impacts of tourism development and community changes on community fabric; threat of the loss of social capital as a result of tourism development.

Table 15.

Community planning process in Ucluelet (British Columbia): The main themes.

Themes

Voices of the community	A broad range of voices in the community; deliberate effort of the District of Ucluelet to incorporate these voices using a number of techniques including public workshops, community festivals, coffee house meetings, etc.
A multitude of worldviews	A wide array of worldviews ranging from preservation to near urban development; difficulty and importance of reconciling these voices as a part of the public process.
Community leadership	The role of community leadership in establishing policies and administrative frameworks to be followed by any potential developer; deliberate effort of community leaders to engage the broad public.
Too much growth, too fast	Public concerns over the scope and timing of development in the community; divergence of views on what type of development should be pursued and how the development process should proceed in Ucluelet.
Public access to the waterfront	Retaining public access to the water through the Wild Pacific Trail as one of the most valuable community assets; ensuring policies regulating development on the waterfront take into consideration public access to the waterfront.
Tourism impacts and other community changes	Impacts of tourism development on local businesses, community lifestyles, traditions, and the quality of life.
Community fabric and social capital	Impacts of tourism development and community changes on community fabric; threat of the loss of social capital as a result of tourism development.

Figure 14 illustrates the main themes at the forefront of public attention, in the context of their respective communities. The tree analogy used for the model is discussed below.

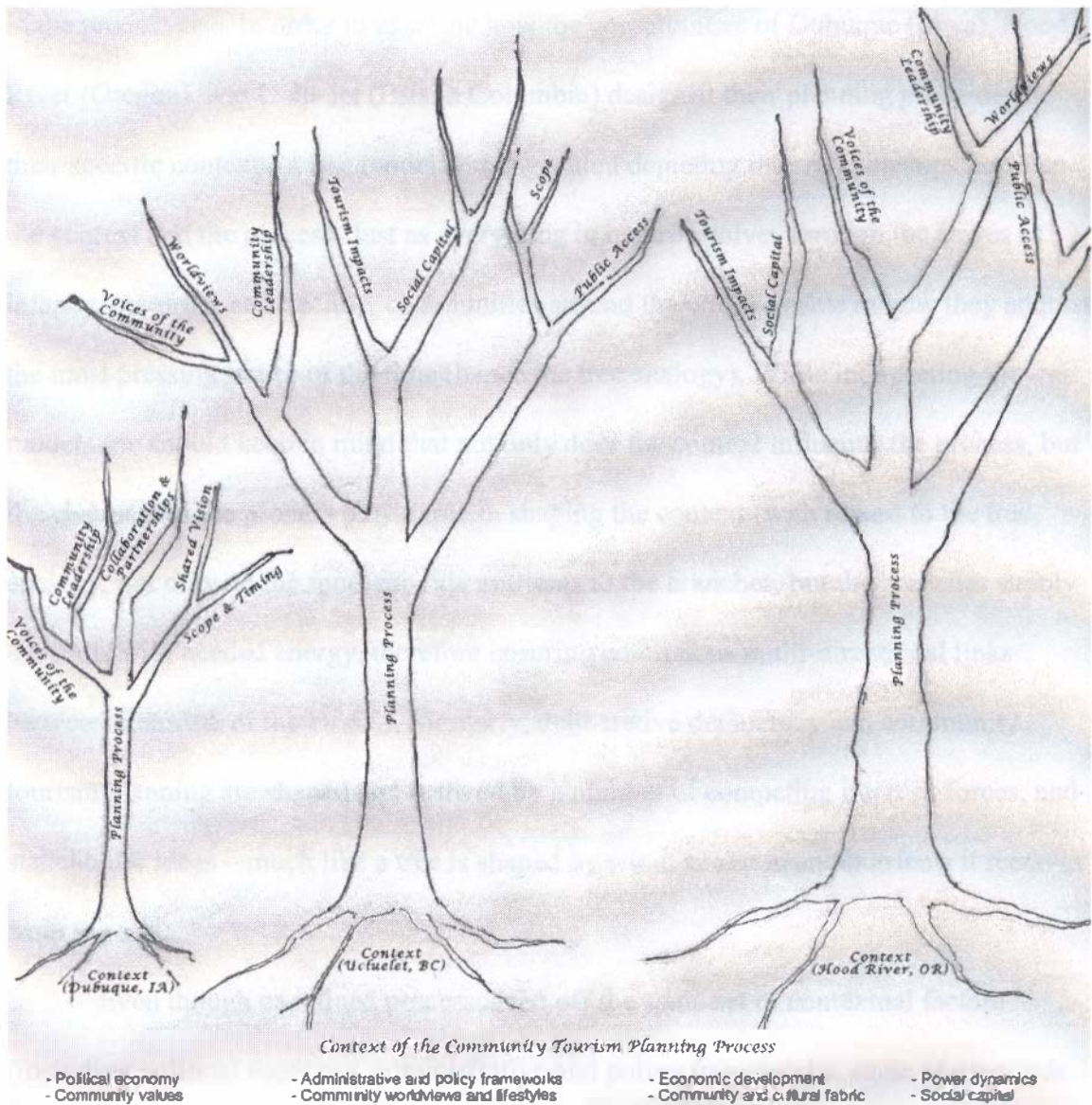


Figure 14. Community tourism planning processes in three communities.

As destinations progress through stages while developing tourism products, their planning and decision making processes take place in different contexts and under different circumstances. While some processes remain rather simple, having to address fewer issues, others become complex as power and political dynamics change and stakes in the process rise. In order to examine how the communities of Dubuque (Iowa), Hood River (Oregon), and Ucluelet (British Columbia) designed their planning processes in their specific contexts, a tree model was suggested depicting interrelationships between the context and the process. Just as everything in nature evolves through the stages of infancy, maturity, and decline, communities around the world evolve in how they address the most pressing issues of the time (hence the tree analogy). While interpreting the tree model, one should keep in mind that not only does the context influence the process, but the elements of the process play a role in shaping the context (with regard to the tree analogy, not only do the roots provide nutrients to the branches, but the branches supply the roots with needed energy, therefore ensuring continuous multi-directional links between elements of the model). Similarly, deliberative democracy and community tourism planning are shaped and realized by a number of competing interest, forces, and stakeholder ideas – much like a tree is shaped by wind, sun, rain and nutrients it receives from the soil.

Even though examined processes fed off the same set of contextual factors (including political economy, administrative and policy frameworks, stage of economic development, power dynamics, community values, worldviews and lifestyles, community and cultural fabric, and social capital, among others), the role and significance of these factors varied from one community to another. The list of contextual factors was drawn

from the literature and analysis of case studies. Neither were all of these factors apparent in each community, nor were they equally important in each of the processes; at the same time, their presence was often assumed or taken for granted. Table 16 identifies and defines each of these factors in the context of community based tourism planning.

Table 16.

Contextual factors in community tourism planning processes.

Contextual factors/ variables

Political economy	Economic policies in the political context; relationships between political environment, political institutions, and the economic system. Distribution and access to resources.
Administrative and policy frameworks	Include federal, state and local mandates, laws, and regulations (as well as procedures and requirements) in place.
Stage of economic development	Diversification of the local economy; main industries, and the role of tourism in local economic development.
Power dynamics	The role and influence of the main stakeholders/ key players in community (e.g. community leadership, developers, and the most vocal groups).
Community values	Values, norms, and beliefs of different community groups and community leadership.
Community worldviews and lifestyles	Worldviews and lifestyles of different community groups (e.g. environmental views, resident attitudes toward tourism development, etc.)
Community and cultural fabric	Cohesiveness, homogeneity, identity, integration, role and influence of cultural and ethnic groups.
Social capital	Social networks, norms of trust and reciprocity that exist in a given community.

While different in their contexts and features of participatory planning processes, all communities in the study shared similar concerns with regard to the development of their tourism product. Among them – a need to have a broad and shared community vision enforced by community leadership, supported by cooperation, collaboration, and partnerships, and expressed through shared decision making; focus on communication, dialogue and information exchange, to ensure participatory and an inclusive planning process design that would incorporate a multitude of community voices and worldviews and further strengthen social capital. Finally, scope and timing of tourism development were emphasized, along with the need to consider tourism impacts on the economy, environment, social and cultural community fabric. These concerns expressed a call for proactive participatory community tourism planning that would take into consideration the specific context of each community involved. In practice, however, what was considered important in Dubuque (Iowa), with the resident population of almost 60,000, was different from the concerns of Hood River (Oregon), with the resident population of almost 6,000, or of Ucluelet (British Columbia), with the resident population of nearly 2,000.

Similar to previous studies, this study illustrated that the size of community did play a role in influencing the scope and extent of local involvement in public decision making; in addition, location of communities also determined administrative and policy frameworks and political economy within which their planning processes were designed, and hence was reflected in traditions of citizen participation, strength and multitude of community voices, and existing power struggles, among others. Figure 15 incorporates

the most common community concerns in a simple model of participatory community tourism planning.

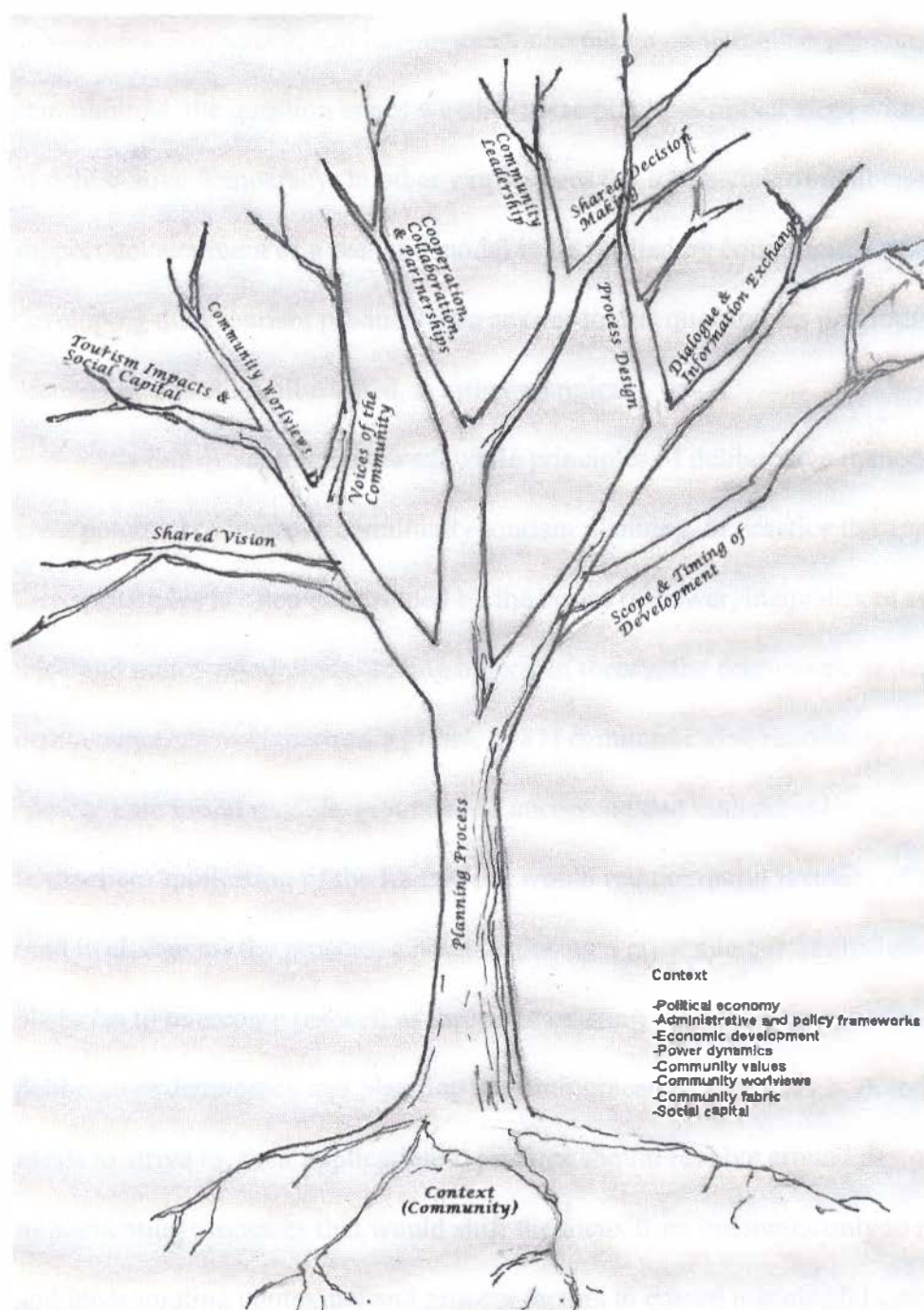


Figure 15. Community tourism planning process.

On Deliberative Democracy in Community Tourism Planning

Since the purpose of this study was to compare and contrast the current practices of citizen involvement in community tourism planning with the framework of deliberative democracy, and having examined public participation practices in three communities, the question arises whether these practices in fact align with the principles of deliberative democracy. In other words, does the framework of deliberative democracy support development of a realistic model to be applied by communities and planners developing their tourism product? The answer to this question, as previous chapters and sections of this study illustrated, is rather complex.

As this dissertation showed, while principles of deliberative democracy hold a great potential to improve community tourism planning, in practice the application of these principles is often constrained by the issues of power, inequality of resources, and legal and policy regulations, among others. In theory, the framework of deliberative democracy (just as Habermas's [1984, 1987] communicative rationality and "ideal speech") are moral models, grounded in uncoerced and undistorted process of dialogue. In practice, application of the framework would require moral restraint of those engaged (and in charge of) the process, a practice posing a great number of challenges and obstacles to overcome (as well as threats to existing administrative practices). While deliberative democracy and planning as communicative action are both indeed noble ideals to strive to, their application in practice should revolve around designing and implementing processes that would shift the focus from outcomes only to recognizing and incorporating contextual and process factors to ensure meaningful citizen involvement in community based planning and decision making.

Conclusions

Using case studies of three different communities across North America, this study examined the current practices of citizen involvement in community tourism planning within the framework of deliberative democracy. Comparing and contrasting community planning processes in these communities not only illustrated the contextual nature and complexities of the tourism planning practices, but also revealed a number of factors that should be considered by practicing planners in their efforts to design proactive participatory processes that will engage communities to the maximum extent possible.

While the theoretical framework of Rowe, Marsh and Frewer (2001), Rowe, Marsh, Reynolds and Frewer (2001), and Marsh, Rowe and Frewer (2001) helped better understand the design of each of the planning processes, it did not account for the contextual differences of these processes. As this study illustrated, these contextual factors accounted for some of the major differences between communities in how they addressed tourism planning processes and responded to community concerns with regard to developing their tourism product.

Contextual factors influencing community based planning processes included political economy, administrative and policy frameworks, stage of economic development, place on a Tourism Area Life Cycle, power dynamics, community values, worldviews and lifestyles, community and cultural fabric, and social capital, among others. Strength of influence, role and significance of each of these contextual factors varied from one community to another.

While different in their contexts and features of participatory planning processes, all communities in the study shared similar concerns in regard to the development of their tourism product. Among them were a need to have a broad and shared community vision enforced by community leadership, supported by cooperation, collaboration, and partnerships, and expressed through shared decision making; focus on communication, dialogue and information exchange, to ensure a participatory and inclusive planning process design that would incorporate a multitude of community voices and worldviews and further strengthen social capital, as well as scope and timing of tourism development, along with the need to consider tourism impacts on the economy, environment, social and cultural community fabric.

Recommendations for Future Research

As the literature on participatory community tourism planning remains scarce, the need for further research on this subject has never been greater. With more and more communities embracing tourism as an opportunity to diversify their economy, proactive and participatory planning for tourism development has often been neglected. As a consequence, many communities find themselves engaging in reactive planning in an attempt to “fix” the negative impacts of tourism, as opposed to planning focused on designing the product around a shared community vision.

This study pursued two main objectives – to expand the literature on tourism planning, and to contribute to the development of a model of participatory community tourism planning. Other studies are needed in order to complete this task, and those embarking on similar projects might benefit from the following:

- Applying a multicase evaluative research design to compare and contrast planning practices in selected communities,
- Ensuring that selected communities have similarities making their planning processes somewhat comparable, yet possess unique characteristics making their planning processes distinctly different,
- Accounting for contextual differences in selected communities and their planning processes,
- Applying different evaluative frameworks in order to examine which of the existing theories best explain the practical reality of community tourism planning, and
- Engaging in longitudinal research to investigate how tourism planning patterns change over time in the same community.

Engaging in case study research is a challenging yet very rewarding task. It opens one's mind to different worldviews, opinions and arguments; it teaches one to listen and learn from experiences of others; it changes the way one sees the world and often puts one's beliefs under question. Ultimately, all of us wish and hope that the findings of our studies can be useful and applied in practical settings.

Recommendations for Communities

Even though it was not the purpose of this study to produce a checklist of “what works” participatory planning techniques, lessons learned from those communities that underwent long and at times torturous community based planning processes while developing their tourism products, should be considered by practicing planners in their

efforts to design proactive participatory processes that will engage citizens to the maximum extent possible. As every community is unique and every process is distinctly different, what applies to one community might not find its place at the table in a different context. Therefore, the list of suggestions presented in Table 17 presents a mix of factors that were considered important by communities in this study, to be further revised and adapted based on the specifics of each planning process. While Table 16 presented a list of contextual factors/ variables explaining the specifics of each planning process, Table 17 focuses on process factors. These recommended process factors are purposely presented as a series of questions that planners and participants can ask as they design and move through the process. The intent is to facilitate reflection and consider a range of open possibilities rather than provide a recipe or a “checklist” of tasks to accomplish.

Table 17.

Recommended process factors to consider in participatory community tourism planning processes.

Process factors

Shared vision	Does the community have a broad, shared vision of its future? Is the vision contested by different parties? Is there a consensus on the preferred course of action for the community?
Community leadership	What is the role of community leadership in the planning process? Does it embrace and support public planning and decision making? What legislative frameworks are established to reinforce citizen involvement in planning? What deliberative efforts have been made to invite the public in the process?
Collaboration, cooperation and partnerships	Is there a tradition of collaboration between the main stakeholders in the process? Is the public included in the partnership? Is the citizenry included from the very beginning of the process?
Communication, dialogue and information exchange	What is the role of information in the planning process? Is it readily available/ accessible, accurate, and understandable by process participants? Is the public "educated" about the process, or is it involved in a genuine dialogue?
Voices of the community	What is the role of the public in the planning process (observer, consultant, or a partner)? Is it well defined? How representative are participants of the broader community? Does the process enable shared decision making?
Community worldviews	Who are the main community groups participating in the process? What are their worldviews? What is their stake in the process? Are these worldviews conflicting?

(table continues)

Process factors	
Social and cultural community fabric	<p>How cohesive and integrated is the community?</p> <p>What is the role and influence of different cultural and ethnic groups? Are they invited to participate in the planning process?</p>
Social capital	<p>How strong is the community's social capital?</p> <p>What is the role of social networks, norms of trust and reciprocity in a community? How important is social capital to community members?</p>
Process design elements	<p>Who established the process agenda? What is the role of the public in setting an agenda?</p> <p>Who are the key players in the process? What are their stakes in the process?</p> <p>What avenues for public engagement are being provided to the citizens?</p> <p>How transparent is the process to the broader community?</p> <p>What expertise is available to the public throughout the process?</p>
Role of the natural resource base	<p>What natural resources are considered to be the most valuable public assets? What is the role and significance of the natural resource base in the process? Who owns the natural resource base?</p> <p>What land use planning and zoning requirements exist with regard to regulating the use of natural resources?</p>
Role and impacts of tourism development	<p>(Depending on the stage of the Tourism Area Life Cycle)</p> <p>What is the role of tourism in the local economy?</p> <p>What other (industrial, service) sectors are present in the area?</p> <p>What are the resident attitudes towards tourism development in the area?</p> <p>What are impacts of tourism development on local businesses, community lifestyles and the quality of life?</p>

As communities pave their unique paths through planning processes, this list could provide a broad framework of the process issues to be considered prior to designing and implementing participatory planning processes that would adhere to the principles of deliberative democracy. Acknowledging the complex nature of community based planning and decision making is not enough, rather, practicing planners need a working framework to help design and implement participatory planning initiatives. Until now, the tourism literature has been lacking such a framework; the goal of this dissertation was to expand the literature and outline a basic model to be used by practicing planners and communities in transition. Examples of three communities at different stages of tourism development were used to illustrate the complexity of contextual and procedural elements of planning processes, in order to depict practical experiences, mistakes made, and lessons learned, and assist improvement of tourism planning practice.

Not only should communities and practicing planners consider the above mentioned process factors; as contextual factors have a great influence over the process design and each community is in fact a political arena, elements of political economy, administrative and policy frameworks, stage of economic development, place on a Tourism Area Life Cycle, power dynamics, community values, worldviews and lifestyles, community and cultural fabric, and social capital, among others, should be addressed as well. Finally, as examples of communities in this study showed, the role and significance of social capital as a contextual and a process factor should not be underestimated.

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APPENDIX A

EVALUATION CRITERIA AND GUIDELINES FOR THE EFFECTIVE CONDUCT OF A PARTICIPATION EXERCISE

Table A1.

Evaluation criteria and guidelines for the effective conduct of a participation exercise.

Criteria	Definition	Context	Requirements to be effective
Task definition	The nature and scope of the participation task should be clearly defined	Context	Identify all the factors which have made this exercise necessary: - Regulatory (e.g. required by law) - Social (e.g. need to involve public) - Organizational (e.g. organizational policy)
		Scope	Describe the scope of the exercise: - What issues will it address? - Whom do they affect? - What is the timescale?
		Aims and outputs	Specify the aims and outputs of the exercise, in terms of: - Decision-making status (will its results be advisory, or directly inform decision-making?) - Intended benefits and impacts (what substantial benefit will the exercise have; what do you hope to achieve?)
		Rationale for exercise	Justify why this type of exercise is being adopted and not others: - List pros and cons for the different exercises
Representative-ness	The participants in the exercise should comprise a broadly representative sample of the affected population	Stakeholders	Identify all persons and groups with a legitimate interest in the issue. - State appropriate groups (define their nature) and clarify reason for interest/involvement - State inappropriate groups (define their nature) and clarify why they are not to be involved

(table continues)

Criteria	Definition	Context	Requirements to be effective
Representative ness		Selection	<p>Give full details of the selection procedure:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Identify sources from which participants will be chosen - Identify and justify selection method (e.g. random versus stratified) - Decide on whether participants are to be appointed or self selected (justify) - Fix on proportion of participants from each stakeholder group (justify) - Decide on eligibility constraints (detail and justify) - Check if ethical approval is needed and obtain
		Participants' role	Specify the balance of participants between representatives (delegates) and individuals (general public), and justify
		Commitment	Detail steps being taken to recruit the right participants (i.e. participants in the proper proportions belonging to the intended target groups). Discuss whether more can be done with hard to reach groups.
		Actual representative-ness	Set up mechanisms to monitor actual representativeness of participants (describe) and respond appropriately. Adopt a policy on the rotation of participants if appropriate.
Resource accessibility (use)	Participants should have access to the appropriate resources to enable them to successfully fulfill their brief	People	<p>Check that enough people are involved in</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Preparation - Backup - Running of the exercise - Ensure they know what they are doing (evidence of training)
		Time	<p>Consider the time demands of the exercise:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Set out timetable for the exercise - Get evidence that the intended timetable is realistic and sufficient, not just hopeful

(table continues)

Criteria	Definition	Context	Requirements to be effective
Resource accessibility (use)		Facilities	Detail physical requirements needed to conduct the exercise and justify by reference to, for example, similar exercises. In particular: - Anticipate and provide facilities needed (list) - Anticipate and provide equipment needed (list)
		Expertise	Consider expertise requirements, for the task and the participants: - What experts do you need (justify why)? - Are they available? - Are back-ups available if they become unavailable?
		Finance	Estimate costs and factor in uncertainties: - What monetary resources are available? - Over what time period?
		Information	Justify information needs of participants: - Anticipate information needs for participants - Identify available sources of information - Ensure information is appropriate/ understandable for participants (level details and usable format)
Structured decision making	The participation exercise should use/ provide appropriate mechanisms for structuring and displaying the decisionmaking process	Operational management	Run through the expected course of events during exercise (list)
		Procedures	Detail procedures for information exchange: - Specify the exact format for discussion, presentation and exchange of information (between participants and organizers, etc.) - Specify procedures to be used for reaching group decisions/ consensus, if appropriate. (Consider if these are appropriate for the exercise and for the participants)

(table continues)

Criteria	Definition	Context	Requirements to be effective
Structured decision making		Flexibility	“Brainstorm” worst-case scenarios (unexpected events) and think how to respond to them (who, when how)
		Consistency	Consider whether the exercise is likely to lead to contradictory outcomes and how to deal with this
		Competence	Specify competence requirements of participants: - Decide whether a minimum competence level is necessary for participation (in what way – knowledge?) - Consider whether the level is likely to be met and what to do to bring non-competent participants up to it (if anything)
		Validation of methods	Identify existing/ external standards/references that can be used to benchmark procedures used in exercise and generally ensure quality control. If none exist, emphasize this.
		Shared understanding	Identify procedures for confirming whether there was sufficient shared understanding of essential concepts and terms by all parties
Independence	The participation process should be conducted in an independent (unbiased) way	Procedures and outputs	Set appropriate level of control for participants over the procedures and outputs of the exercise, i.e., allow participants to influence the way the exercise is run, and the questions that are asked, to the maximum level that is sensible (which could be “none at all”). Justify this.
		Feedback	Arrange to obtain participant feedback on the exercise: - Detail/set up mechanism for obtaining participants’ assessment (e.g. questionnaire, interviews) - Justify why this mechanism is adequate

(table continues)

Criteria	Definition	Context	Requirements to be effective
Independence		External checks	Detail and arrange external checks of independence of procedure: - Install external checks on independence (e.g. independent evaluator; advisory committee) - Justify why these are adequate - Collect evidence of vested interests
Transparency	The process should be transparent so that the relevant population can see what is going on and how decisions are being made	Legal / regulatory	Identify legislation and regulations that bear upon exercise (if any – if not, still acknowledge this). Ensure exercise will comply with both the letter and the spirit of regulations.
		Publicity	Decide what level/ type of publicity (justify) and set up
		Auditability	Specify audit trail: - What is covered? - How is it recorded? - Who is responsible for this? - What is its format (project report etc.)?
		Availability	Specify availability of audit trail, i.e. who is it available to? If anybody is excluded from viewing the audit trail (e.g. participants), justify
		Accessibility	Decide the appropriate format and level of detail for audit information
Influence (impact)	The output of the procedure should have a genuine impact upon policy	Specific decisions	Decide how to identify and measure specific, concrete impacts of exercise, in terms of specific decisions
		Corporate policy	Decide how to identify and measure impacts in terms of corporate policy-making procedures
		Corporate style	Decide how to identify and measure impacts in terms of corporate approach to handling the issues and general corporate “mindset.”

(table continues)

Criteria	Definition	Context	Requirements to be effective
Influence (impact)		Media coverage	Decide on what kind of media response will constitute a positive impact of exercise.
Timeliness (early involvement)	The participants should be involved as early as possible in the process, as soon as value judgments become salient/ relevant.	Familiarization	Ensure all parties have enough time to become familiar with all the elements of the exercise. If the exercise involves no preparation by participants, acknowledge this.
Cost effectiveness	The procedure should in some sense be cost effective from the point of view of the sponsors.	Entry point	Specify where in the decision-making process the exercise will take place. Justify that this is early enough.
		Effectiveness	Revisit "Task definition / Aims" Decide which aims will be used to assess whether exercise has succeeded or not. Justify choice.
		Benefit/ cost	Decide how costs will be calculated: - Adopt a policy on indirect, opportunity, emotional, controversy, political, social and organizational costs. Justify. - Decide how to weigh costs against benefits. - Decide what alternatives to this exercise would be (have been) and how exercise could be compared against them.
		Fairness	Adopt a policy on how benefits should be distributed among stakeholders to constitute a "fair" exercise. Justify.

Source: Rowe et al. (2001).

APPENDIX B

MAPS OF DUBUQUE, IOWA



Figure B1. Map of the State of Iowa and location of Dubuque.

Source: University of Texas Libraries.

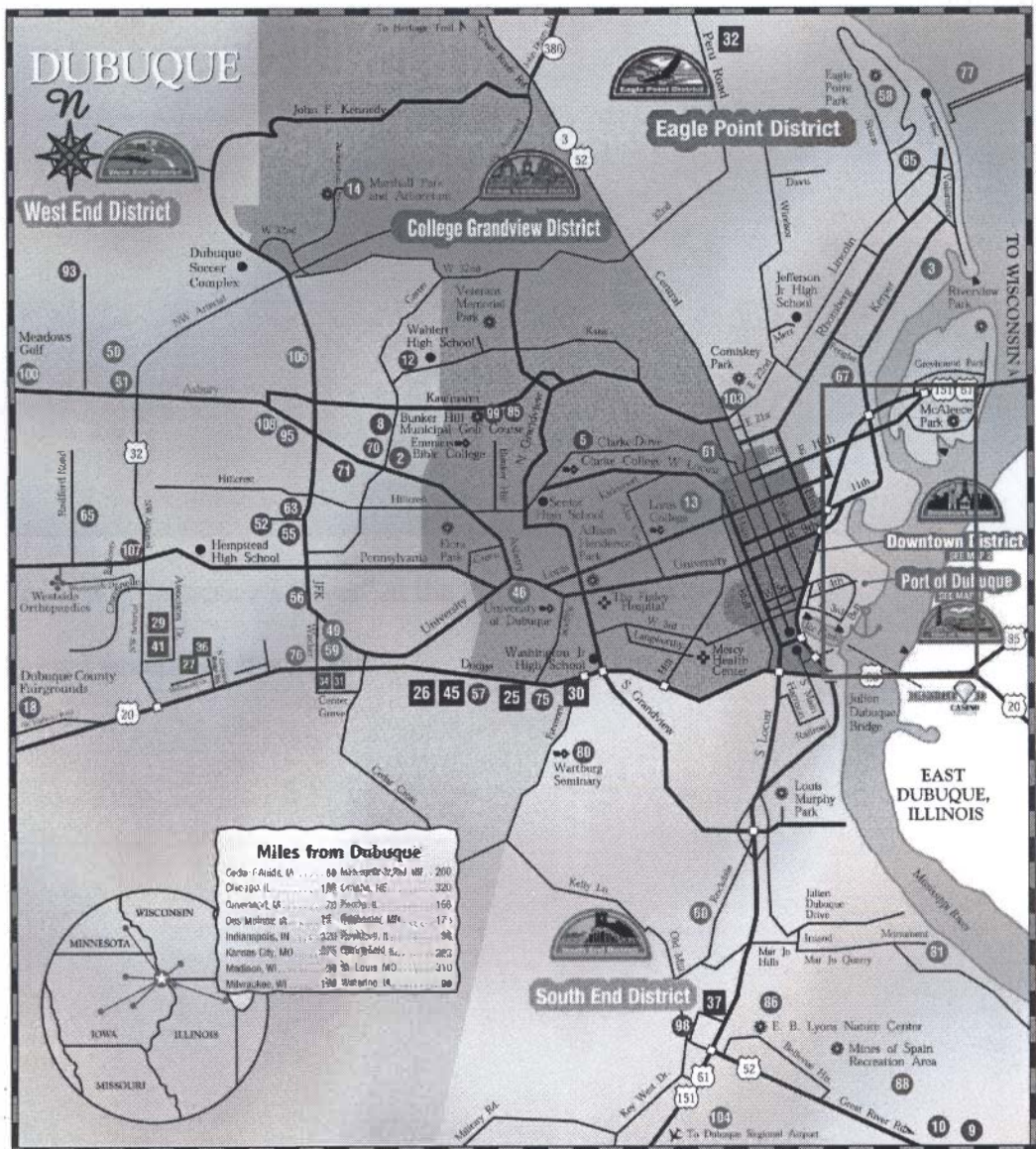


Figure B2. Map of the City of Dubuque and location of the waterfront area.

Source: Dubuque Chamber of Commerce.



Figure B3. “America’s River” at the Port of Dubuque.

Source: America’s River, 2007.

APPENDIX C

MAPS OF HOOD RIVER, OREGON

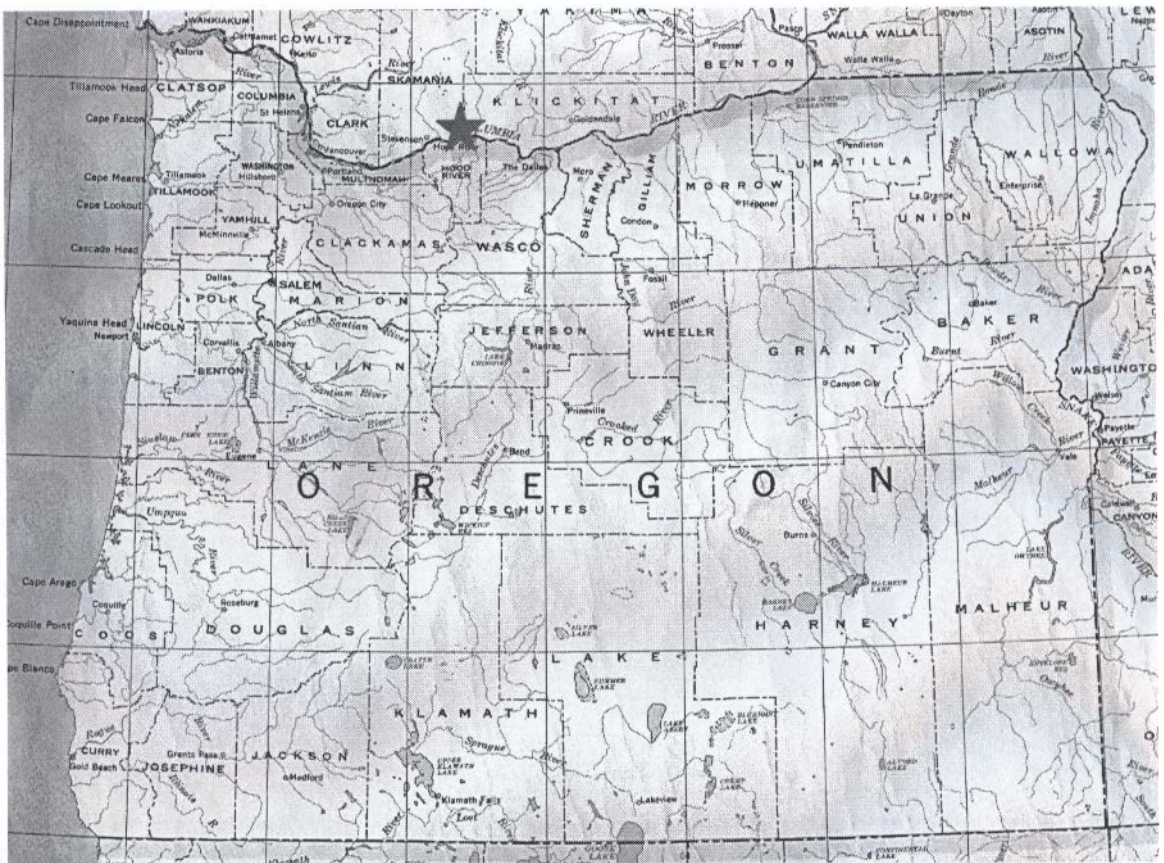


Figure C1. Map of the State of Oregon and location of Hood River.

Source: University of Texas Libraries.

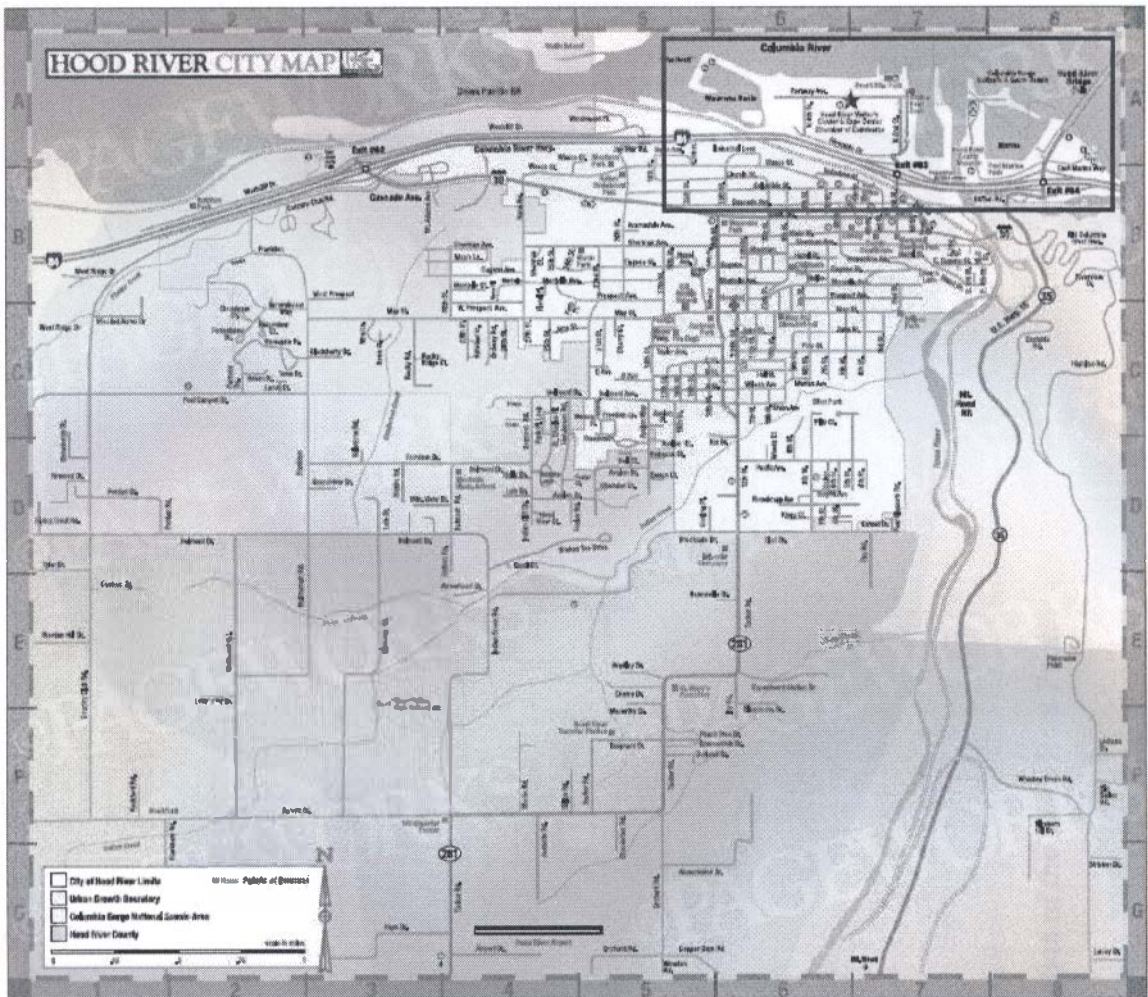


Figure C2. Map of the City of Hood River and location of the waterfront area.

Source: Hood River County Chamber of Commerce and Pageworks Design.

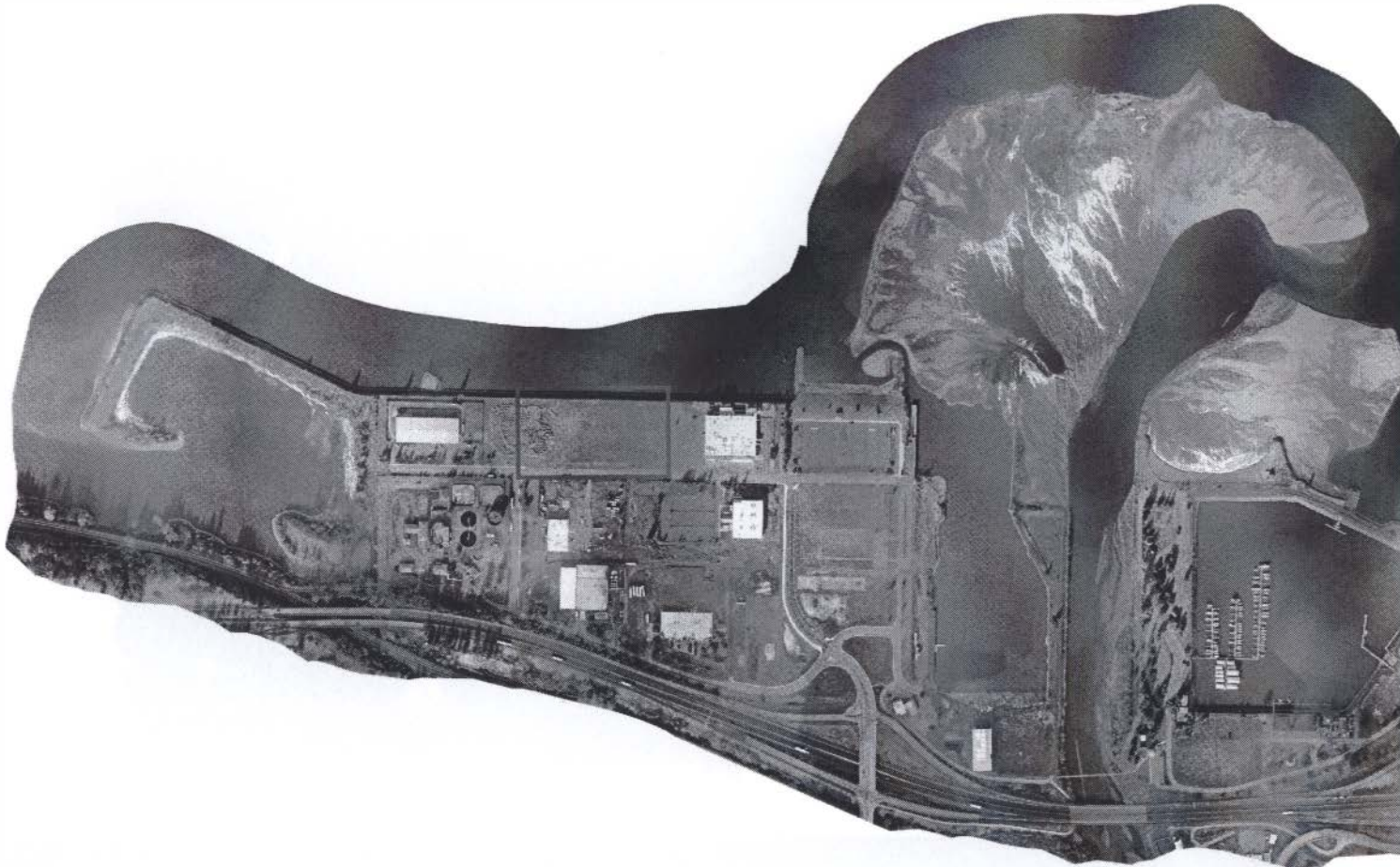
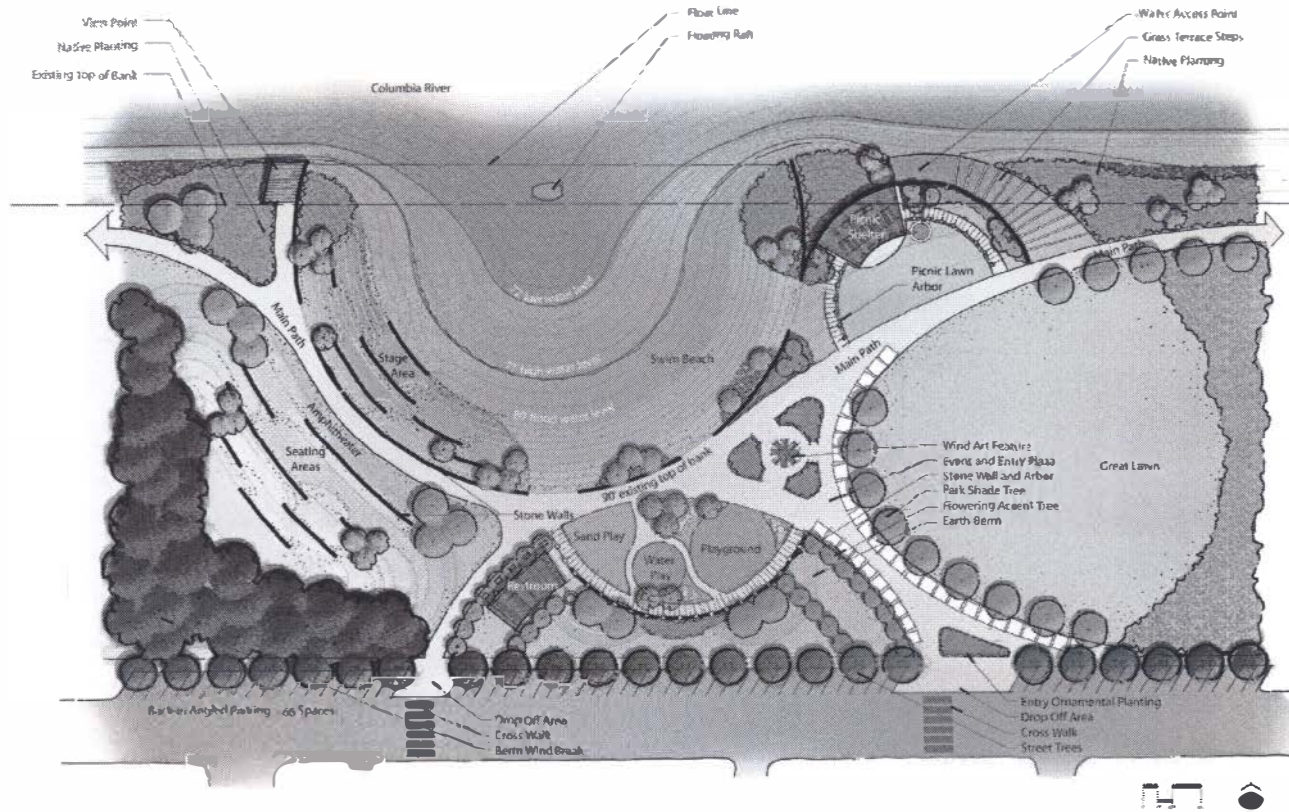


Figure C3. Map of the Port of Hood River and location of the Waterfront Park.

Source: Hood River Waterfront Development Strategy, 2007.

Hood River Waterfront Park

Master Plan



Master Plan

3-16-2006

STERA

GREENWORKS

Figure C4. Hood River Waterfront Park master plan.

Source: GreenWorks, 2007.

APPENDIX D

MAPS OF UCLUELET, BRITISH COLUMBIA



Figure D1. Map of the Province of British Columbia and location of Ucluelet.

Source: Super, Natural British Columbia.

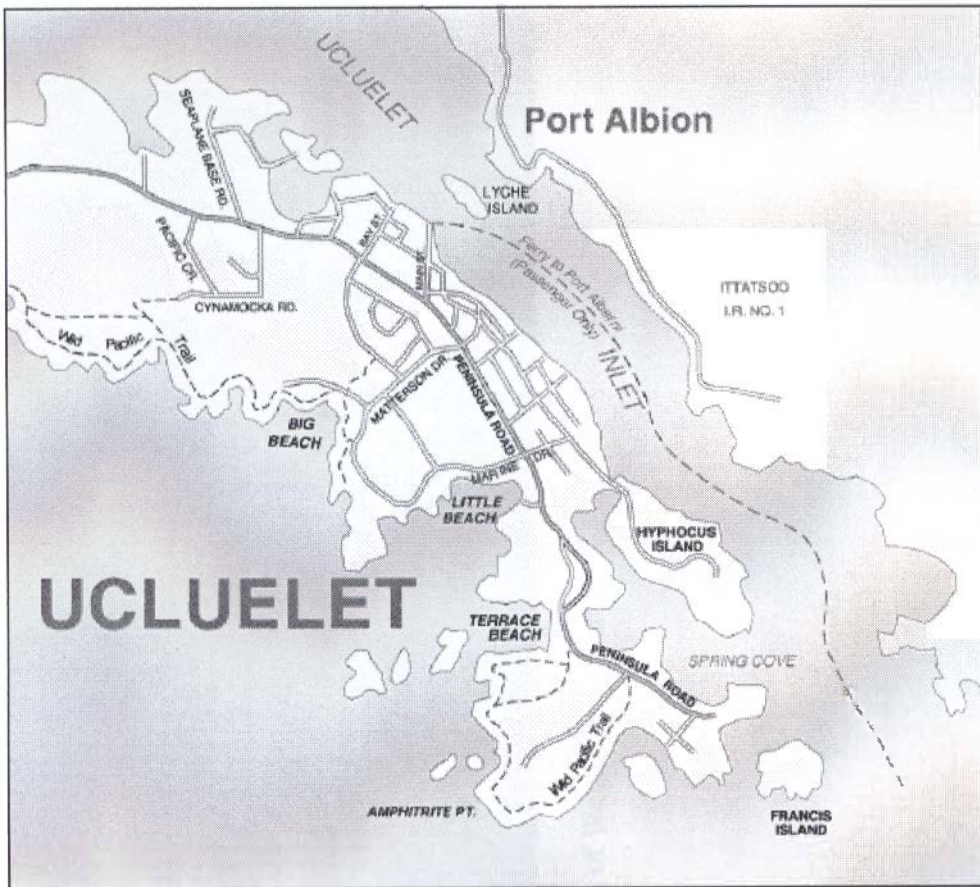


Figure D2. Map of the District of Ucluelet.

Source: Davenport Maps Ltd.



Figure D3. Map of the the District of Ucluelet and location of Weyerhaeuser lands.

Source: McBrinc & Stade Developments Ltd.

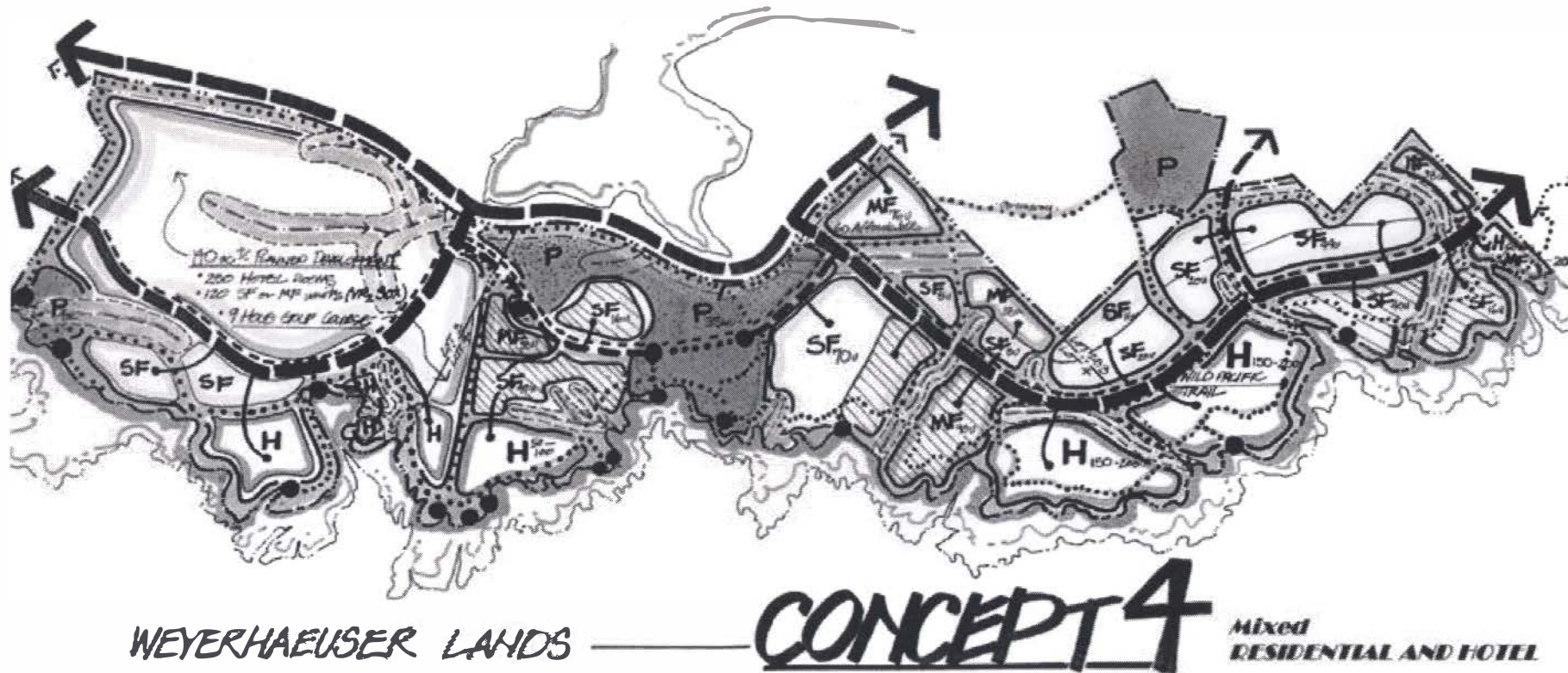


Figure D4. Weyerhaeuser lands master plan.

Source: MVH Urban Planning & Design Inc.

